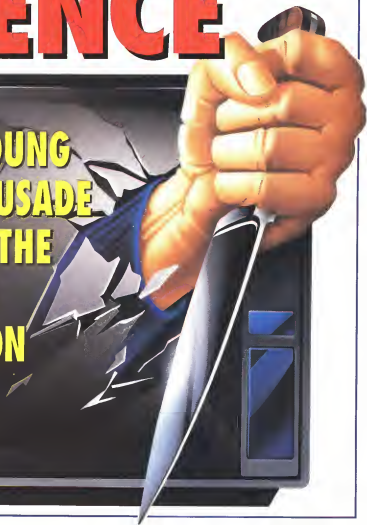


**TURMOIL
IN ONTARIO'S NDP**

Maclean's

PRIME-TIME VIOLENCE

**HOW A YOUNG
GIRL'S CRUSADE
TOUCHED THE
HEART OF
THE NATION**



Ultimately, there's Black

CONTENTS

2 EDITORIAL

6 LETTERS

A OPENING

8 OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES

David Malron makes a difficult choice; Simon de Jong comes out on a freebie; Margaret Visser reveals the hidden messages in political party mementos; the auditor general gets his man; the black Loyalists gain some pride; the Glabe does a cowboy's lament for Roy Macgregor.

11 COLUMN/SABARA AMIEL

12 CANADA

Ottawa looks at two new ways of saving money on social programs; Canada's auditor bays Defence procurement methods; Lucien Bouchard faces the Bloc's electoral march.

10 WORLD

Ireland abandons its conservative traditions; jockstrap humor and political ranting are the new rage on U.S. radio; ultraviolence rises in Germany; Hong Kong hedges its democratic bets.

32 BUSINESS

The dollar's volatility fuels demands for tighter economic policies; life insurers face unprecedented strains.

30 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

40 COVER

51 PEOPLE

52 SPORTS WATCH/TRENT FRAYNE

54 SCIENCE

The nation's largest groundswell study is providing insights into the making of the continent's coast.

56 EDUCATION

The Cold War's end transforms a legendary school for spies in Vermont.

63 MUSIC

Leonard Cohen remains immune to the shifting sands of sexual politics.

66 TELEVISION

Strong performances help lighten the gloom of North of 60; a disturbing car drama explores an abuse scandal at a Roman Catholic orphanage.

4.8 FOTHERINGHAM

COVER

PRIME-TIME VIOLENCE

Prime-time TV programming features an average of six to eight acts of violence an hour. But despite high ratings, there is a growing realization among viewers in the bloodletting. This fall, 14-year-old Virginia Larivière presented federal officials with a petition signed by 1.2 million people asking for curbs on the mayhem—some of the worst of which originates in Canada. —40

CANADA

'SHELL-SHOCKED'

Two recent scandals have damaged the credibility of Ontario's beleaguered Nair government. But Premier Bob Rae has a number of even more fundamental problems to contend with: a lingering recession, a shell-shocked cabinet and the defection of a group of former party activists.

WORLD

ELIZABETHAN
GRACE

After what she described frankly as a "horrible year" for the Royal Family, Queen Elizabeth II made what amounted to the most dramatic gesture of her 40-year reign. She agreed to pay tax on her estimated \$10-million annual income and to cover the expenses of most family members.

Small-Screen Bloodbaths

In the 1940s, when television was in its infancy, one of its most dominant elements was the cowboy movie, filled with chase scenes and gunfire, with screaming bandits and horses cut down in the dust. But nobody ever had to leave his or her living room and sit at a desk to watch these movies. Now, the westerns are gone, replaced by *Procedures* and police dramas. Instead of saloonkeepers, the gunpowder in many modern TV dramas sprays lead from submachine-guns at the rate of 600 rounds a minute in some network scenes, and particularly in the violence-filled movies that many TV channels regularly broadcast, the bad guys even use rocket-launchers to blow away people who get in their nerves. And the blood flows faster than a speeding bullet.

The debate about the effect that TV violence has on viewers—particularly young ones—has taken on a new urgency. As *Senior Writer D'Arcy Jauch* notes in this week's cover story, anxiety over the issue has risen sharply since a congressional young gun got from a small village in Quebec, with his family, managed to amass more than a million signatures in a petition calling for government legislation to control violence on television. And there is growing concern that TV violence has gradually accustomed many viewers to violence as a routine part of daily life. But legislation, which would amount only to censorship, is not the answer. Instead, parents will have to learn to monitor what their children watch, including so-called cartoons that many adults assume are harmless, but that are, in fact, animated versions of the bloodbaths perpetrated on adult-oriented shows. For that part, the networks and cable operators have to come to grips with the power that their medium exercises over the valuable and re-examine program choices with that in mind. Or at least bring back *Hoppy and Roy* and the *Glenn Kol*.



Jauch believes and parents will have to become more aware of the power of television

Kenn Wayne

McGraw-Hill

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LETTERS

Ugly rebels

The picture of a protesting hoodlum with three stars of a swastika sticking out of his head is grimly funny ("Europe's nightmare," *Cover*, Nov. 30). Does he think that real Nazis would have permitted such caricature? No, their young men had to be clean, blond and Aryan, with no fancy adjuncts such as pseudo-balloon earrings (although few of their leading figures looked like that). Rebels such as that young man would have ended up in a military prison, or a concentration camp. He is ugly, as were the Nazis, but in their army, he would have had some needed discipline.

J. E. Côté,
Hawthorn



PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

German neo-Nazi caricature

The duty to suffer

The case of Sue Rodriguez highlights the irony and implicit cruelty of some of the legal guarantees of individual rights and freedoms ("The right to die," *Law*, Nov. 23). The right to life translates into the duty to suffer and, in justice, suicide turns out to be legal only if it is consented by violent and unpleasant means: one can freely buy a gun, rope or knife to shoot, hang or stab oneself—but not a capsule of barbiturates to take with a glass of champagne and full whisky with a smile.

Fr. Almes,
Victoria

Tights and blue suede

Suspense dead? Nonsense! I saw her last October day on St. Catherine Street as large as life—and talking to Elton (Passages, Nov. 30).

Edward W. Barrett,
Montreal

'Biased post-mortems'

After telling us that the Constitution note should be laid to rest, Peter C. Newman persists in his biased post-mortem ("I told you I never viewman get out," *Columns*, Nov. 26). When he writes, "The inevitable message from the West is that Quebec should make up its own mind whether or not it wants to remain in Canada or terms that will not be very different from those offered other provinces," he is close to being correct, finally. But Ontario's vote matched the combined Westerns. No vote is that not significant or should we gloss over and ignore it after repeatedly

the tripping of calls. Queen's has, and will continue to, welcome exploration of students' attitudes towards controversial issues providing they are conducted with the objective of processing the whole picture and not certain aspects taken out of context. It is the opinion of the 1,200 Queen's students who signed this letter that the article does injustice to both the efforts of this university and to all groups striving to change the attitude towards sex as an "arcane game."

Patricia Marshall,
Kingston, Ont.

English test

In Allen Petherborough's casting aspersions on the literary and cultural talents of business school in your Nov. 23 issue, he says: "The Globe and Mail has recruited a genius from Campbell Soup to supervise the language of Shakespeare" ("Losing a boss and leaving the future," *Columns*). I would be pleased to field a team of CEOs against any team of journalists led by the Poet, to test the respective skill of each group in writing clear, concise English that is also grammatically sound. Stereotyping is for the birds.

George Finckelmann,
President and CEO,
Grocery Products Manufacturers of Canada,
Don Mills, Ont.

Media are not saints

It was to George Rein's carefully measured opinion of the self-serving cry about freedom of the press, which we are being subjected to more often from members of my own craft. This column will no doubt subject the author to a torrent of abuse from a host of ideologically media junkies who see themselves only one step away from sainthood. These are the same blowhards who scream for strict laws in an effort to gain special status among the citizenry. Hold fast to thy thick skin, George.

Peter Warren,
Globe Mail,
Mississauga

How do we teach our children when politicians like yours do not speak English? Merit "arr"; they are not "in" so you put in your headline ("The media is not above criticism," *Media Watch*, Nov. 23).

J. P. Ryan,
Toronto

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LETTERS

Not at the top yet

Thank you for ranking the University of Western Ontario 18th in your list of the 15 top doctoral-granting institutions in this country ("Measuring excellence: Special Report, Nov. 9). As a student at Western, I would certainly like to see my institution at the top of the list, but unfortunately the administration at Western has different objectives. As was the case last year, Western's administration has off the report as some cheap attempt to sell supporters. Meanwhile, they continue to expand the auxiliary profile of this university at the expense of academic quality. Continued criticism such as that which *Maclean's* has leveled is the type of wake-up call Western needs.

Scott Bradley,

President, University Students' Council
University of Western Ontario,
London, Ont

being" of being at home and comfortable in their chosen learning environment. With all the other stresses these kids are handling, the sense of comfort and feeling at home goes a long way in helping to ease with the pressures faced by today's university students.

Joel Tiway
Cambridge, Ont

At this stage of my life, one of my bitterest criticisms of my university education is the lack of exposure I had to the great thinkers and great books in the various fields of knowledge: economics, sciences, mathematics, science, linguistics, psychology and philosophy. I was never required to read the great thinkers. I was given modern textbooks instead. The textbooks are now forgotten or out-of-date, but the great thinkers remain and I have now to make up for the deficiency in my education.

Jim Plaxton,
Ottawa

'Very disturbing'

Your report entitled "Concordia's Trade" ("Special Report, Nov. 9) is biased, distorted and very disturbing. It is a disgrace to *Maclean's* reputation. Clearly, your article started with the premise that Volodymyr Filipenko's allegations against his colleagues are founded. It is not uncommon that successful individuals

have many affairs as well as a few detractors. T. S. Sisker and Sisker & Sisker are no exceptions. That *Maclean's* could not include a single hard word about these whose reputations stand challenged cannot be a mere coincidence. All of the information in your report was available for at least two months. How did this piece find its way into a special issue dealing with academic excellence in Canadian universities? What is astounding is that Filipenko, in his court appearances, has been desperately attempting, in vain, to publicize his real and imagined grievances, and to turn his trial into a trial of the university and its officials. You are stoking his fire, not focusing on the allegations of Filipenko, rather than on the crime itself, is excessive and brutal. It could not bring solace to the families of the innocent victims of the murder. In your attempt to smear the university administration and the engineering faculty, you forgot altogether the basic decency of including at least a brief report of the victims and their contributions to the university. Twenty-five years ago, the engineering faculty in Concordia was a little-known entity. These are generous individuals who have dedicated their lives to the development and progress of the faculty to make it one of the premier faculties of engineering in the country. Thousands of graduates will bear testimony to this.

Joaneth Tupper
President
National Association of Graduates
of Ontario in India,
Mumbai

With my daughter at Brock University and my son at the University of Guelph, I have been befriending with some amusement to three friends by listening, experiencing the benefits of their respective schools. It is unfortunate that there is no way to measure a very important factor in school selection. Both my children expressed it during their first tour of campus—that "gut

"You've started skating again?"

"Yes, I'm working on a new figure."



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COLUMN



A better idea for creating jobs

BY BARBARA AMIEL

Blame it on my sister. She called my attention to a newspaper story last week telling of a new agency Ontario's new government intends to create. The agency has the catchy name of Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, or OTAB for short.

OTAB, explained the Toronto Globe and Mail, will help "the unemployed, the underemployed and those threatened with losing their jobs." How will a mere board do all that, you may ask? Well, OTAB is going to "coordinate the work of up to 48 training programs that now are administered under 10 different provincial ministries."

Such an undertaking will take a lot of time, I thought to myself, and indeed Bala and Development Minister Richard Alton agreed with me. (Shirley and Development Minister Alton think that a committee could consider the bill to establish the agency to oversee the 48 ministries that administer the 48 programs by, say, next year. After that, the good minister isn't promising. According to the Globe, we'll need a "central body" to set up the "local boards," which will "oversee" and "transfer" the responsibility for the province's skills-training programs. Did I mention the composition of this august labor has right representatives on the 22-member board: six from business, and in the fallible spirit of consensus, the new has elected that any dissonance by the board must be approved by both sides. Then there are two representatives of educators and trainers, and one each for women, racial minorities, the disabled and francophones. In this a script for Monty Python's new policies are in the name of helping groups, but come at the cost of harming the individual. Since, ultimately, unemployment is about individuals, the policy promises a wrap-up. There is not much in the way of doing out of work when you want work, even something unemployed with a family to support. I never believed the notion that a large number

of people grow welfare because it's easy or fun; unemployment kills the soul, bureaucrat, in the social ruling card that says you have no name. But I tell you this: if the Ontario government gives a big shout the unemployed, the best it could do for joblessness is to defend half its ministries and boards, go into exile and turn over the province to a motivated population that would get on with things.

I do not doubt that the proponents of democratic socialism in Rick Fair's government believe that they are doing the best for their province—an spite of all the evidence to the contrary from Sweden to the Soviet Union. By now, in every corner of the world—except Ontario—the MTR remedies are out-of-date. Medicines, even when new, will have a beneficial effect only in the machine, most controlled down. In fact, the problems with democratic socialism is that even if they get hold of a good idea, from human rights to economics, they will not rest until they take the notion to an absurd extreme—and it becomes poisonous. The Ontario government's Industrial Strategy, for one, has spent taxpayer money like water in order to prop up and subsidize uncompetitive resource-based businesses in the name of joblessness.

Ontario's NDP has confused "competitiveness" with corporatism as the government tries to make alliances among labor, business and itself. What we get instead are more carrels. What we see and see the repeal of such regulations as the minimum wage. Kierstan does all right without one, the closed shop, interprovincial and international trade barriers. Anyone who tries to do business new in Ontario is faced with NDP legislation from pay equity (with employment equity on the horizon), and the numerous amendments to the labor code. The cost is too high and the climate too dangerous for investment. International investors are going Ontario the pass. Meanwhile, unemployment soars.

So now we have the OTAB, another quasi-ministry. One of the major problems of contemporary society is that we have too many ministries, each one needing to create regulations and enforcement to justify budgets. But we have become so used to the quack that—if ever our government wants to reduce expenditures—we would all acquiesce in the face of a government study of the Ministry to Assist the Minister. The NDP would call it the Ontario Reduction Board. Probably, even now in Queen's Park, someone is working on a big fat bill that contains the regulations of the Ontario development board.

The NDP should hire a dozen large tractor trailers and dump heaps of dollars at selected sites starting at Yonge and Bloor

Ontario spends about \$500 million per year on job training and the federal government about \$850 million for the same purpose in the province. The NDP wants OTAB to coordinate this spending and help Ontario compete "in the global arena." Business has been going along with all this, but with no special enthusiasm. They, after all, are simply trying to find a modest reward with the rampant state. They know that with a stroke of the pen, government can wipe them out or reduce their profits to the point where it is simply not worth staying in business. Better to go along with things such as business went along with Al Capone.

I have a suggestion. Instead of creating the OTAB to supervise that \$1.3 billion in spending, the NDP should simply hire a dozen large tractor trailers and dump heaps of dollars at selected sites starting at Yonge and Bloor streets. The economic effect on Ontario life would, I promise you, be more beneficial than the OTAB. The government should instruct citizens to spend the money and some would undoubtedly, managing it into the economy. Some would save. Some would spend. Some would do as they please. This is not the best way to help unemployment, but it is better than the one proposed.

Mind you, every time the NDP comes up with another wretched idea I rejoice. For years now, the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives in Ontario have been prepared by the NDP opposition and taken the blame for some idea that, among other things, ruined Ontario's health care system and led to pay and employment equity. Now, finally, the NDP can take responsibility for their own cause. Here is the Monty Python world of the oval that thus appears as many nations in their way. And maybe, maybe, we'll get a Minister of Sensible Words who will lead Ontario back into the 20th century.

'SHELL-SHOCKED'

I welcome the premier back to the realities of provincial politics. Perhaps, he has now had an opportunity to reflect on the conduct of some of his rulings.

—Bob Rae, then Ontario's opposition leader, on June 21, 1990

With that, NDP leader Bob Rae greeted then-Premier David Peterson at the Ontario legislature after the latter's return from a week-long trip to Northern and Eastern Ontario. Clearly relating the moment, Rae then aggressively questioned the premier about a Liberal fund-raising scandal that caused one of Peterson's most trusted personal aides on the following day. In an ironic twist last week, Rae, as premier, returned from a 16-day trade mission to Asia to face opposition assaults and calls for his resignation after a personal friend and top strategist in his own office, John Piper, was forced to resign a day later. And after the opposition gleefully threw his old foe back at him, Rae reflected that he was in part to blame for the reaction. Said the premier in a TV address at week's end: "I am paying probably for 10 years of inactivity or inoperability."

Senior New Democrats privately conceded that the Piper scandal was by far the most explosive event during Rae's two years in

SCANDALS, THE RECESSION AND PARTY DIVISIONS ROCK THE NDP GOVERNMENT OF PREMIER BOB RAE

office. But the theatrical attention the affair received—along with the resignation of Tourism Minister Peter North the week before over allegations of sexual impropriety—masked deeper problems facing the premier. Among them: the premier's worsening financial situation, disillusionment within Rae's cabinet and deep-seated divisions within the Ontario socialist bloc. Marilyn Ibbotson learned that a small group of NDP activists is so disenchanted with the Rae administration's record that they are about to launch a new party to serve as a political alternative to the government. Said one New Democrat staff who requested anonymity: "Everyone seems shell-shocked."

The latest troubles began six days after Rae flew to Hong Kong from Toronto on Nov. 5. Revelations surfaced that the premier's office had asked the police to investigate North, 32, over allegations of impropriety during a business meeting with a woman in his Toronto apartment early last year. Police later cleared North, but before long a second allegation arose. On Nov. 13, Michelle McLennan, a 38-year-old former hairdresser, delivered a letter to the premier's office in which she claimed that she had carried on an affair with North, who is married and has two children. During their two-month relationship, McLennan said, the minister offered her a \$15,000-a-year job on his staff. North resigned within hours of McLennan's disclosure—becoming the fifth NDP minister forced to leave the cabinet since the party took office in October 1990. McLennan later told reporters that, although she had been in bed with North on six occasions, they had never had sexual intercourse.

The police are currently investigating whether North, a former carpenter from St. Thomas, Ont., abused his office. But that scandal paled beside the blow that greeted Rae upon his return from the Far East on Nov. 20. According to a report in that morning's *Times*—to Jim Piper, Rae's communications adviser, had offered the tabloid newspaper a copy of a woman's criminal record.

The woman, Joie Harris, a former resident in a Cambridge, Ont., home for delinquent youths, had triggered the resignation of NDP cabinet minister William Ferguson last year, when she claimed that he had slept with her after helping her escape from the home in 1975. At the time, Ferguson was a 19-year-old student worker in the facility. These allegations are still under police investigation, and Ferguson, who denies any wrongdoing, has filed a slander suit against Harris.

Within hours of his return from the Far East, Rae faced opposition charges that his old friend had attempted to use his access to government information to discredit a private citizen.



Rae: a legislative record that has led to open discontent among NDP activists

At a hastily convened news conference two days after he quit, Piper acknowledged that he had offered *Star* reporter Ann Dawson a list of Harris's contacts—but asserted that he had done nothing wrong because the material was part of public court records. The police are now investigating whether Piper, who earned more than \$100,000 a year, violated provincial breach of trust laws.

As if these scandals were not enough, the opposition returned last week to issue Rae's beleaguered government. Treasurer Floyd Laing later announced a series of spending cuts, aimed in part at covering a \$600-million shortfall in projected government revenues for the 1992-1993 fiscal year. Among Laing's measures: freezing provincial initiatives to expand hospitals, universities, schools and hospitals, excluding a freeze on the salaries of cabinet members and 4,300 senior civil servants and

postponing a pay-equity program in publicly funded agencies until 1998. Laing's move also warned that more cuts will be required in the following fiscal year. Indeed, *Maclean's* has learned that the health ministry plans to slash its spending by \$500 million in 1993-1994, and by a further \$1 billion over the subsequent two years.

Among the casualties from last week's announcement was a \$341-million grant program for postsecondary students. As well, Laing's announced a seven-per-cent increase in university and college tuition fees. That increase was counter to the NDP's official policy that tuition fees should be eliminated, and underscores one of the fundamental problems facing the Rae government: Since taking office, the New Democrats have swung back and forth between two irreconcilable positions: trying to adhere to the party's platform, while at the

National Notes

DEPORTING A WAR CRIMINAL

Convicted Nazi war criminal Jakob Lustig, 75, was deported to his native Holland after immigration officials ruled that he had shirked his wartime activities when he escaped Canada in 1961. Lustig, a retired University of British Columbia biology instructor, was convicted in absentia in the Netherlands in 1948 of assisting German occupation forces to seek out Jews and Resistance fighters. He lives in a Swiss sanatorium where he claims to be lame.

SETTLING A SCORE

Quebec Liberal party president Jean-Pierre Roy announced that Marco Duval, president of the party's youth wing, and three other young dissidents, Liberais had been dismissed from the party's executive for openly campaigning for the Bloc Québécois in the Oct. 26 intervention on the Charlotteville constitutional accord. Duval later resigned from the party.

PRESSING FOR A MOTIVE

Opposition politicians reacted angrily to a federal plan to set up an immigration processing centre in Wapreque, Alta., the seat of Deputy Prime Minister Donald Maniwongh. Critics said that the proposed transfer of 200 jobs to the community of 5,200, located 180 km east of Edmonton, is designed to help the Conservative minister retain his seat in an area where the Reform Party of Canada enjoys strong support.

TAKING HIS LEAVE

Manitoba NDP MLA Elsie Frieser, who played a key role in defeating the Meech Lake constitutional accord in 1990, announced that he is resigning his seat. The Critt leader, whose refusal to give unanimous consent against a referendum vote on the accord at the Manitoba legislature, said that he may run federally.

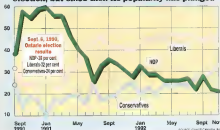
HELP FOR THE FISHERMEN

Federal Fisheries Minister John Crosbie announced that Ottawa will spend about \$5 million on outdoor work projects to help unemployed fishery workers in Atlantic Canada and Quebec qualify for unemployment insurance. The money is in addition to \$300 million in aid announced by Crosbie earlier this year to help workers hit by a two-year fishing moratorium on the East Coast northern cod.

A NATIONAL HEARING

Provincial and territorial environment ministers endorsed a federal plan to protect 12 per cent of Canada's land base. The plan called for the creation of 18 new national parks by the year 2016.

Ontario's NDP soared in the polls after the 1990 election, but since then its popularity has plunged



some time attempting to limit the provincial deficit and the federal government's ability to manage the economy. On both issues, the government has been struggling—and its inability to live up to its promises has created serious divisions within the New Democratic Party.

In fact, a small group of longtime NDP activists has been meeting since fall to establish a breakaway organization, which they call the New Left Party. One of the organizers is Toronto physician Fred Freedman, 41, an NDP campaign worker since he was 16. He says that about 10 people with expertise in different policy areas are currently drafting a platform, and that each of the organizers knows dozens of people who are interested in joining. According to Freedman, the new party would emphasize worker rights and economic equality but also advocate policies to stimulate small and medium-sized businesses—an area which he claims the government has ignored.

Freedman says that his disappointment with the NDP government began in 1991, when the New Democrats abandoned a long-standing commitment to police auto insurance. "Bob Rae and that he wouldn't go ahead with public auto insurance because it would put between 5,000 and 8,000 people out of work," says Freedman. "So he, then, meant that there are that many people working in the auto insurance industry who are essentially pushing paper and not being productive. If negotiating it better would put them out of work, then I can see why they would not do those jobs and more usefully re-employed." He

added, "The government seems to be running away."

Another veteran NDP worker who attends New Left meetings is Greg Iwanow. An owner of an editing-services company in Toronto, Iwanow is a two-time NDP candidate, and a party member for 20 years who let his membership expire this year. He says that he has not yet decided whether to join the splinter

ministers are poised to implement are a group of consumer policy issues, education reform, day-care reform, social-assistance reform and the Advocacy Act—a set of controversial new laws that will spell out the rights of mental patients, the elderly and children. Said one aide in the premier's office: "Instead of a flurry of policy announcements, you will see a flurry of delivery and implementation."

But in order to achieve that goal, Rae will have to motivate a cabinet suffering from various morale problems. Some ministers complain privately that they feel leaving their seats in the next election because of the government's inactivity. And according to one senior bureaucrat, the defeatist attitude is reflected in frequent ministerial absences from work.

That kind of spirit and discipline has left Rae frustrated. The week after a cabinet retreat in September, marking the government's second anniversary in power, he lashed out at his inner cabinet, which contains some of his hand-picked working ministers. He scolded his colleagues that if they did not deliver on government priorities more swiftly, he would bypass them and deal directly with deputy ministers. A few days later, Rae's message and sparked bursts of protest by among his chief political aide, David Agnew, 35, secretary to the prime minister, and several ministers.

But that move alone will likely be insufficient to enable Rae to overcome skepticism, radical momentum and the severs, prolonged recession.

PHIL KAHILA



Piper the most serious scandal to rock the government

party, but his disillusion with the Rae government clearly runs deep. "I was extremely bitter when the NDP was elected two years ago, and they're still far better than the parties that came before them," he says. "But it's kind of pathetic watching them now. If they seem so incompetent."

Senior advisers in Rae's office say that the government's legislative agenda will help to dispel such impressions. Among the policies

Government-sponsored spending restrictions also include a labor dispute involving 280 college instructors at Vancouver Community College. The instructors, who had absorbed large rebuffs under the previous Social Credit government, went on strike on Nov. 13 after an non-unionized college board asked them to accept a two-year wage freeze.

Labour leaders in Saskatchewan and British Columbia warn that the strikes could soon spread to other sectors, including health care and public transit. For the time being, however, policies in both provinces say that they intend to stay the course. "We're here for the long haul," says the NDP leader in Saskatchewan, "but the reality is that we have to learn to live with it."

DEAN BERGMAN with STEVE WESTERHOLM in Ottawa

'LEARNING TO LIVE WITH IT'

Like Ontario's Bob Rae, Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow has spent years carefully cultivating his ties with organized labor. These efforts paid off at the October 1991 provincial election, when Romanow of Saskatchewan's reformist (and often arrogant, frustrated) by nearly a decade of rusty meetings with Govt. Devine's Conservative government, campaigned vigorously for Romanow's New Democrats, but the post-election honeymoon between the NDP and the Saskatchewan labor movement was short-lived. In May, the Romanow government cut 500 government jobs in a bid to restrain the projected \$680-million provincial deficit. Now, the cut is embedded in better contract disputes with nearly every public-sector union as the province opens its October 1992 audit accounts except wage freezes.

Tensions erupted last week with the Saskatchewan Government Employees' Union, which represents about a third of the province's 88,000 employed public service employees, launched a series of no-strike strikes that took 800 workers, most of them in commercial facilities, off the job. Accusing the hire of what he called deficit-induced mismanagement, union president George Romanow said that his members felt betrayed. Declared Romanow, "Romanow seems more inclined to cozy up to the Chamber of Commerce than to labor."

Union leaders have leveled similar charges at B.C. Premier Michael Haxton's 13-month-old NDP government, which is struggling to reduce a projected 1992-1993 budget deficit of \$2.1 billion. Earlier this year, B.C. Finance Minister Glen Clark imposed spending limits that, among other things, led school boards across the province to lay off almost 800 teachers. "Teachers are bitterly disappointed," says Robert Brown, president of the Surrey Teachers' Association. "We worked very hard for them during the election campaign."

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The thin bottom line

The auditor general targets the military

Harsh and condemning, the pungent attack at the government's expense of prudent management. In his 1989 report released last week, Denis Desautels, Canada's auditor general, took aim at the department of national defence's annual \$2.8-billion capital projects budget—charging that the department remains wedded to a cumbersome procurement process that is ineffective, too costly and easily sidetracked by events. Desautels stated that since 1984, Defence projects have taken as many as four stages of assessment, each taking three or more years, before they receive final approval. As a result, Desautels wrote, the Defence program still includes many out-of-date projects initiated at another age, the Cold War. While the defence department's procurement forecasts now accommodate the altered international reality, Desautels, 49, said that the department's approach remains experimental. "The obvious alternative is to focus on a process that is less scenario-dependent," wrote the auditor general, a characteristically unassuming man who previously served as a senior partner with Coopers & Lybrand Ernst and Young in Montreal. "Military organizations must be capable of dealing with the unknown as well as the known."

Over defence department projects initiated during the Cold War is a still-uncompleted \$1.4-billion air defence system designed to protect Canada's two military bases in Germany—bases that Canadian troops will largely abandon by 1994. Desautels does not envision that project by 1994—and that appears to be a reflection of his overall style. In contrast, his predecessor, Kenneth Dye, whose 13-year term ended a 1981, signed off on often unfettered Canadian with demand spending that Desautels, a native of the Montreal suburb of St-Levas, has said that he is less interested in individual "bomber stories" than in identifying the underlying causes of government waste. As a result, his report is short on anecdotes—but dwells on great management structural problems within the federal bureaucracy and its often cumbersome decision-making processes. Says Sharon Sutherland, a Carleton University professor of political science who teaches public administration: "He is more focused on management processes, on the quality of stewardship. This is meaningful."

In his report, the first written totally under his supervision since he replaced Dye in 1991, Desautels pays particular attention to Canada's armed forces, devoting 77 pages of his 630-page study to the defence department. One entire chapter takes the measure of Canada's military reserve forces—a part-time army of 76,000 that had never before been examined by an auditor general. According to defence department policy, the reserves, which own over 100,000 rifles a year, will assume a greater and more vital role in the armed forces by the end of the century as the regular military shrinks because of budget constraints. But Desautels says that the reserves are equipped to face that challenge. Desautels, who earns \$113,000 a year as auditor general, lays the blame for that square-

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Revolution "without any detailed analysis of restructuring potential," and without realizing that in some cases "young people are moving away due to a shortage of educational and job opportunities." As a result, reserve complements to Kinross and Trans Canada reached only 52 and 62 per cent, respectively, of their projected strengths. "Managing the reserves efficiently will be one of the greatest challenges facing the Canadian Forces over the next decade," the report concluded. "Our audit identified serious problems, which the department of national defence recognizes it must address."

But while Desautels pays particular attention to military management failures, he also documents cases of mismanagement. In one case, Desautels says that the department of public works overpaid by at least \$13 million when it signed a 25-year lease-purchase agreement for an office building in Hull, Que., from the owner from Ottawa. The wife of Desautels, a father of three and an avid golfer, also labored at the businessman's political matters. Among other things, he challenges the written



Canadian Armed Forces in Germany: claims that management is too costly and ineffective

ly an entire defence department management. The reserves are "top-heavy with senior officers" who, Desautels says, have not successfully managed the provisions that they have been awarded. Defence department bureaucrats have left the reserves with flawed standards and inadequate resources. More reserve units "are left to rot, if not, equipment related to operations," the report says, while over 60 per cent of reserve units lacked sufficient weapons, vehicles and radio.

Desautels also found that reserve recruitment practices are in disarray—a large part because of poor management. In one project designed to establish a third reserve province in Quebec, the defence department located divisions in Chateaugay, Rouville and Desautels

and cost of program energy projects such as the development of the Hibernia oil field of Newfoundland. Says Arthur Scarpel, a longtime senior federal civil servant, who will soon take over as chairman of the Public Policy Forum, a non-profit Ottawa-based group that studies public service and government issues. "The deep question some fundamental judgments [politics] have made." Desautels has said that one of his goals is to help the federal government curb carbon deficit by improving the quality of management. "I can do that," he declared shortly after his appointment. "I will be a happy auditor general." Canada's taxpayers, too, would so credit report.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa



Bouchard: "I could well be leading the party that holds the balance of power"

A separatist strongman

Lucien Bouchard aims for up to 65 Quebec seats

Lucien Bouchard's current business address, in sharp contrast to most of his previous offices, is neither residential nor unadorned. The former Conservative cabinet minister and former Quebec solicitor-general to France occupies a cramped and gloomy room off a fourth floor walk over to the Parliament Buildings' West Block. "It's a little awkward," Bouchard apologized as he gestured a circuitous route past stacked filing cabinets and overflowing shelves to a modest desk. Once seated, however, the 33-year-old ex-NDP who now heads the separatist Bloc Quebecois in the Commons offers a quiet smile of satisfaction to a total across his face. "But of course all of this may only be temporary," he adds. "After the coming federal election, I could well be leading the party that holds the balance of power."

New Canadians concerned about the future unity of the country are likely to find that prospect reassuring. But Bouchard's comment reflects more than a wishful thought. buoyed by the outcome of the recent provincial referendum and favorable public opinion polls that show that his separatist party is poised to win a majority of Quebec's 75 federal ridings. Bouchard's rightists and their supporters are eagerly awaiting the federal election that is expected to take place no later than end of fall. The ruling party now has 25,000 post-up members in Quebec—slightly more than the Con-

servatives. The Bloc has just completed organizing constituency associations in every Quebec riding and it is in the midst of a fundraising campaign aimed at adding \$1.2 million to its \$500,000 electoral war chest. And early next year, the Bloc will begin the arduous process of nominating candidates to carry the party's colors in the coming federal vote. "Once all our candidates are up and running, likely by next spring, I think we have a good chance of capturing between 50 and 60 seats," claims Bouchard.

Even Bouchard's lefts seem content that his party may be heading for a major electoral breakthrough. The latest Gallup poll, released on Nov. 13, gives the Bloc a healthy 23-per-cent support among devoted Quebec voters, compared with 44 per cent for the first-place Liberals and 19 per cent for the Conservatives. Quebec's Conservatives are in disarray as a result of the province's misleading 55-per-cent vote against the Charlottetown constitutional accord in the Oct. 26 referendum. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's party has never possessed a deeply rooted organization in the province, and its electoral alliance with the provincial Parti Quebecois which helped the Tories sweep the throne in the 1984 and 1988 elections has eroded—largely because of Mulroney's condemnation of the sovereignty

claim. Jean Charest's Liberals appear to be similarly threatened. In rural areas, especially, where sovereignty sentiments are more entrenched, the former Liberal risk and the former now to be leaving towards the Bloc. For now, Charest himself is the problem. The Liberal leader is still widely regarded as having betrayed Quebec separatists, first during the 1982 patriation of the Constitution, when he served as federal prime minister, and later during his denunciation of the 1987 Meech Lake accord. As well, some provincial Liberals say that Charest's rough style and homespun image is not only out of date—but offending to Quebecers. And his relations with Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa are hardly, largely as a result of Charest's continuing denial of what many provincial Liberals call "discovering federalism."

But in spite of Bouchard's optimism, the Bloc faces major problems. Money is a principal concern. Bouchard himself acknowledges that he spends "an enormous amount of time" soliciting the funds required to mount a major election effort—roughly \$50,000 for each of Quebec's 75 ridings. It is not as easy task, because the Bloc, existing only in Quebec, will never form a federal government—and will never be in a position to bypass patronage or any of the other plagues associated with power. Such considerations may also sway Quebec voters, who in the past have been reluctant to vote for fringe parties. When faced with the hard choice of actually marking a ballot in the coming election, they may exhibit the same reluctance—a spite of the Bloc's current popularity in the polls.

Bouchard's personal history, as particular his controversial decision in 1990 to quit the Conservatives and declare his own Liberal-Quebecer to live in school board and police Mulroney, has also hurt the party's fundraising. "Quebec business has been noticeably reluctant to give any money," confirmed one member of Mulroney's financial community who has been approached by the Bloc. "The businessmen I've talked to tell me that they're not going to give Lucien any money because they simply can't trust him."

Other major drawbacks are the lack of a credible electoral team and a party platform. Bouchard admits that he has completed a "short list" of politically attractive candidates ready to serve as the party's backbone in the coming federal election. He also claims that the party is currently preparing a detailed platform. But, notes former Liberal and Bloc MP Jean Lapierre, "Right now, the Bloc Quebecois is Lacus and a bunch of intangible polls." Lapierre, who defected to the Bloc in June, 1990, and who served as a member of the provincial political committee on a leading Montreal radio station, added: "He is capable of eventually assembling a good stable and a good program, but those are truths he has yet to contain." Until the Bloc's candidates step forward and its platform emerges, Bouchard's party remains essentially a one-man, one-ride band.

BARRY BROWN in Ottawa

ELIZABETHAN GRACE

BOWING TO PUBLIC PRESSURE, THE QUEEN AGREES TO PAY INCOME TAX AND SUPPORT HER ROYAL FAMILY

Some time next April, officials of Britain's Inland Revenue will announce one of the most unusual income-tax returns in history. Name: Elizabeth Alexandra Mary Windsor. Occupation: Monarch. The document that follows will detail one of Britain's best-guarded secrets: the income of Queen Elizabeth II. Only a tiny and select circle of tax officials will see that information, but the announcement last week that the Queen has decided to voluntarily pay income tax was greeted at a much wider audience. Clearly unwilling to see back public after after what she finally described as a "horrible year" for the Royal Family, the Queen made what amounted to the most dramatic gesture of her 40-year reign.

In financial terms, the decision will make little difference to British taxpayers. Most experts estimate that the Queen will end up paying about \$4 million a year in income tax. And her decision to pay the cost of keeping most members of the Royal Family from her own purse will put another \$1.9 million (600 public coffers—a mere drop in the bucket of a major nation. But the symbolic effect was enormous. After months of escalating public anger at the wealth surrounding the Royal Family and the Queen's unique tax-free status, monarchists hailed it as a bold move towards a more accountable, more accessible monarchy. Declared Lord St. John of Bessborough, a former Conservative minister who is one of the Royal Family's most outspoken public defenders: "It will bridge the gap that was threatening to grow up between her and her subjects."

Despite last week's gesture that remains a difficult task. Polls show that the failed and failing campaigns of younger members of the Royal Family have severely damaged its popularity in Britain. Just how damaged became publicly apparent as the last three days away from the New 30 fire that swaged Windsor Castle,



The Queen and Prince Philip: acknowledging the failings of the family

the Queen's main residence, as the costliest of London. When Peter Brooke, the British minister responsible for "access to heritage," pledged that the government would pay the entire cost of restoring the castle—a full that experts said could top \$100 million—it unleashed a firestorm of criticism aimed at the monarchy.

Through opinion polls, phone-in shows and outraged newspaper editorials, Britain's recession-strapped public felt little doubt that it wanted the Queen to contribute to the cost of restoring the castle. And a poll for Independent Television News found that three-quarters of Britons believed that the cost of the monarchy

should be cut, while only one in five thought that the Royal Family represented good value for the money. Even the strongly monarchist *Gaily Mail* charged: "The taxpayer's grievance is of an out-of-touch government pandering to a wealthy and out-of-control Royal Family."

The same day, the Queen made an extraordinary speech at a London luncheon marking her 60 years on the throne. Her voice crackled under a heavy cold, which was aggravated from striding through the rain-soaked streets during the castle fire. And a poll for Independent Television News found that three-quarters of Britons believed that the cost of the monarchy

causes the sensational collapse of the marriage of her second son, Andrew, the Duke of York, last spring embarrassing revelations about the domestic cold war between Prince Charles and the Princess of Wales, and the divorce of Princess Anne. "The Queen acknowledged that 1992 'has turned out to be an anxious year'—a 'horrible year' she pleaded for public understanding, asking that criticism of the monarchy be tempered with 'a touch of goodness, good humor and understanding.'"

However, Philip Hall, author of a detailed study of the monarch's finances called *Royal Fortunes*, estimated that the Queen's portfolio of stocks and shares is worth closer to \$600 million. It was Hall's book, published earlier this year, that helped to spark the controversy about the Queen's tax-free status.

He revealed previously secret documents that showed that the monarch's exemption from paying tax is completely recent. Queen Victoria paid income tax starting in 1842. It was King George V who negotiated a partial exemption in 1919, and the Queen's father, George VI, who was a complete exemption from tax in 1937. The announcement last week, noted Hall, would merely restore the monarch's tax situation to what it was during most of the 19th century.

At the same time, the Queen agreed to cover the expenses of most members of the Royal Family. Only the Queen herself, her husband, Prince Philip, and the Queen Mother will receive government money under the \$17.2-billion-a-year Civil List. The Queen will use her own money to pay for Prince Andrew, Princess Anne, Prince Edward, Princess Margaret, and Princess Alice. The Queen's mother, the last surviving royal taxpayer about \$1.9 million a year. Prince Charles will also share the financial pain. Officials said that he "catastrophically miscalculated" the Queen's decision, and will pay Britain's top 48-per-cent tax rate on his private income, instead of the voluntary 20 per cent he had been paying. The extra tax bill will amount to an estimated \$900,000 a year.

The Queen's most outspoken critics not surprisingly remained unimpressed. *Andrew Williams*, such as his left Labour MP Dennis Skinner, called it the start of a process that might eventually end with the abolition of the monarchy itself. "For once the Royal Family seems to be humble," said Skinner. "The monarchy is gone and, if there's no mystery, there's no stability. I think they've destroyed themselves."

But the Queen's own words on what she will turn out to be the most decisive week of her reign was written all over her face. When she spoke about her "horrible year," she was pale and grim. But when her decision to pay tax was announced two days later, she was beaming brightly—apparently believing that the public pressure was all her concerned mind.

Buckingham Palace officials tend to further defuse public criticism by suggesting that the Queen is not as wealthy as some estimates—

which range as high as \$13 billion—have suggested. In fact, much of the monarch's savings, such as her Windsor Castle, the Crown Jewels and the royal art collection, are effectively state property. The Queen's strictly personal wealth is much smaller. It includes her estates at Sandringham in Norfolk and Balmoral in Scotland, a private jet, several motor yachts, and her stable of ponies. After being treated by Palace officials, British papers reported that the Queen's investments amount to about \$100 million which, they estimated, would generate an annual income of \$10 million—providing an annual tax bill of \$4 million.

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World Notes

A FAILED COUP

Venezuela President Carlos Andrés Pérez announced that government forces had put down a coup attempt by rebel soldiers in which up to 50 people were killed, hundreds wounded and the presidential palace bombed. Pérez, surviving the second coup attempt this year, said that rebel leaders had surrendered and that his own troops had captured control of all military installations except for Maracay barracks, 85 km west of the capital, Caracas. The government imposed a strictly curfew and suspended constitutional rights nationwide.

FORTH-SEEING SOMALIA

United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said that he would ask the Security Council to order its peace-keeping mandate in Somalia, and war-torn Somalia. The United Nations allowed to send ground troops—possibly as many as 20,000—into Somalia to create a national force that would accept ports, landing strips and roads, enabling relief supplies to reach starving Somalis.

A DATE WITH DEMOCRACY

South African President F. W. de Klerk announced a timetable for full democracy, calling for all-race parliamentary elections no later than April, 1994. But he added that his white-minority government would not hand over power prior to a vote before the election. The African National Congress, the country's main black group, has been calling for an interim government by next year.

FERNI AT THE POLLS

Some months after he dissolved Congress, Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori closed victory in Nov. 30 elections. Although official results will take several weeks to tabulate, those polling firms gave his New Majority-Chance 60 advance about 44 seats in the 120-member chamber. Fujimori dissolved Congress on April 5, saying that corrupt politicians were blocking his economic reforms and a crackdown on leftist guerrillas.

A NUCLEAR NIGHTMARE

Russian scientists say that the Komsomolsk, a Soviet nuclear submarine that sank off Norway in 1981, is leaking radioactive wastes from a reactor and could leak plutonium as it approaches to the last couple of years. Plutonium is a radioactive substance that remains highly toxic for 24,000 years. Among options that Russia and U.S. officials are considering is to sink the submarine in the Arctic or retrieving only its nuclear warheads.



Man voting in Dublin: long-winded and emotional debate far from over

IRELAND

A new shade of green

Voters say No to abortion—for now

At first glance, it seemed paradoxical: Ireland's voters were rejecting a proposal to put a limited right to abortion in their country's constitution, yet pro-choice campaigners who have battled for years to win those rights were celebrating. For the pro-choice activists, the proposal amounted to a step backward because it made no provision for abortion when a woman's health is threatened, or for cases of rape and incest. So as a crowded, smoky club in Dublin's Parnell Square last week, they cheered as the first results of Ireland's second referendum on abortion in nine years were announced: a resounding No to allowing abortion in cases where a mother's life is threatened. "It is a grossly historic occasion," smiled Ailbhe Smyth, leader of a coalition of 35 pro-choice groups which fought the proposed amendment, as fellow campaigners around her hoisted glasses of wine and pints of dark Irish stout. And they looked the approval of two other related constitutional amendments as well: one establishing the right to travel abroad for an abortion, the other affirming the right to distribute information about abortion services.

In all, it was a busy political week in Ireland. A general election held on the same day as the referendum gave the left-leaning Labor Party its strongest showing ever, doubling its representation in Ireland's parliament, the Dáil. Taken together, the votes were a strong departure from the long-established conservative patterns of Irish politics. "We're seeing a fundamental shift from traditional ways of thinking and voting," said Caroline McCauley, another pro-choice leader. "The palatine just hasn't evolved; it was happening."

Still, Ireland's long-winded and emotional debate over abortion is far from over, in part because last week's referendum did not offer voters a clear choice on the issue. Even the Roman Catholic Church, Ireland's most powerful rural force, could not give clear advice to its followers, although some bishops advised voting No. The government of Prime Minister Albert Reynolds had presented it as a "pro-life amendment," arguing that those opposed to abortion should approve it or face legislation establishing even wider grounds for abortion. Despite the defeat, Ireland's once-fierce opposition to abortion has been severely undermin-

ed. The change began in February when the case of an unnamed 34-year-old girl, who had become pregnant after a rape, shook the country deeply. The girl threatened outside if she could not end the pregnancy. But the government cited a 1983 ban on abortions and forbade her to travel to England for an abortion, a route chosen by about 5,000 Irish women each year. Eventually, Ireland's Supreme Court ruled that the girl's right to life should allow her to leave the country for an abortion. The so-called X case sparked a profound change in attitudes. "Since the X case, there has been a sea change in opinion," said Mooney. Ready, a student leader and pro-choice activist, "It forced people to deal with a difficult real-life situation rather than abstract principles. From then on, it became clear that we had to allow abortions in some cases."

Largely because of confusion surrounding the issue, the campaign was not nearly as divisive as a 1983 referendum, which led to the ban on abortion, and which commentators at the time likened to a moral civil war. Aside from a few incidents involving a militant anti-abortion fringe group called Youth Defence, the debate was well contained. And pro-life groups were at pains not to argue their case on the basis of Catholic moral teachings, even though more than 80 per cent of the republic's people belong to the church. Caroline Smyth, an advocate Dublin lawyer who was one of the pro-life campaign's leading figures, said it was essentially an issue of human rights. Added Smyth: "There are really no medical grounds any more for having an abortion. So if you want a liberal and caring society, you have to find of all means the life of all its members—including unborn children."

After the vote, both sides moved to fight on. Pro-choice groups intend to press the new government for legislation that would narrow the Supreme Court's ruling in the X case, permitting abortions in cases where a woman's health is endangered. And pro-life campaigners pledged to fight for yet another referendum that would offer a straight choice between allowing the total ban on abortion or allowing it in some cases.

But until the Dáil meets on Dec. 14 to choose a new prime minister, neither side will have a government to lobby. Initial election returns show that Reynolds's ruling Fianna Fáil party lost seven seats, while the Labor party lost fewer than 10. The results suggest that Reynolds's ruling Fianna Fáil party lost seven seats, while the Labor party lost fewer than 10. The results suggest that Reynolds's ruling Fianna Fáil party lost seven seats, while the Labor party lost fewer than 10.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Dublin



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Talking-tough radio

Loudmouths are dominating the airwaves

Robert Hays looked nervous. Hays runs the southern stations on the sixth floor of the southern station in Dallas, which commemorates the death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy—"one of America's greatest tragedies," as Hays observed in a taped tone. The editor marks the spot where alleged assassin Lee Harvey Oswald isn't behind a stack of cardboard cartons, thrust a rifle out as an open window and shot Kennedy to death on a sunny afternoon 29 years ago last week. On this day, the source of Hays's discomfort sat in front of a microphone 40 feet away from Oswald's perch, wearing a red polo shirt and gray slacks: radio talk-show host Martin Donnelly Jr. For three days, Hays had fought a legal battle to keep Donnelly, once branded "the pit bull of talk-show hosts," from firing his syndicated column program from the site. But the broadcaster had won a court order, based on his constitutional right to freedom of speech, allowing the show to proceed. Now, he was about to be the star.

The ground-sound Donnelly can certainly be sustaining. On occasion, he has referred to political liberals as "puked-pokers." And although he mottos his style last week while broadcast from the Book Depository, any concern that Donnelly might slip into his outrageous persona was well founded. America's radio waves have become a badly contested battle ground in recent months, as rival personalities compete daily for highly profitable national audiences, with an escalating arsenal of strident opinions, outrage and often caustic comedy.

Donnelly's eagle-armed-on-the-air, in fact, is a competitive newcomer to a field now dominated by two New York City-based broadcasters. Rush Limbaugh, who claims that he possesses "talent borrowed from God," has emerged as the unrelenting and often conservative—his political posture can vary as readily as his right-wing ranting—radio show's shoveler up the spine of audiences. Long-haired and foul-mouthed Howard Stern, meanwhile, is added by his loudly young male listeners, one of whom awarded him anwar last week as "the greatest of speakers and the greatest of comedians." His political humor has now caught the attention of the U.S. Federal Communications Com-

mission (FCC), the broadcasting regulatory agency in pulling her furnace and antennae, the Missouri-born Limbaugh is far and away the front runner. His four-year-old, three-hour-long weekday radio show—initially an extended monologue larded with satire and the very occasional guest—a broadcast on more

wishes and feminism. On the list of those subjects, he has managed even to draw controversy by opposing the counter-term "lesbianism," spurring prominent Los Angeles lawyer and feminist Gloria Allred to assert that his banter is "harmful to women."

Clearly, Limbaugh's pointed comedy is a major reason behind his expanding success. On one recent TV segment, he introduced what he called "environmental waste football picks." Speaking over video clips of converting marine mammals and spreading oil slicks, Limbaugh revealed the favored odds to place the sex's Miami Dolphins ahead of the Houston Oilers, explaining with tongue in cheek, "When you compare the abundance and liveliness and beauty of dolphins with the evil of oil discovery and pollution, it's obvious, you take the Dolphins and you lay the three 36 points."



Donnelly: an arsenal of strident opinion, outrage and often tasteless comedy

than 500 U.S. stations to 12 million listeners. A book that Limbaugh decided to a glossier version and titled *The Way Things Ought To Be* has been near the top of *The New York Times* best-sellers list for 19 weeks (page S1). Radio in the fall, Limbaugh also launched a daily half-hour television program that is now carried at more than 200 stations (including an CNN in Toronto). "There is absolutely no one and nothing else out there like him," said Les Ted Koppel, the host of *Nightline*, "anywhere on the political spectrum."

Where Limbaugh sits on that spectrum is clear. *The Way Things Ought To Be* looks like a full-on-right-wing Republican, pro-business and pro-American military, while staunchly opposing welfare, "environmental

Stern's brand of humor is equally less uncorrupt. Over an expanding network of stations that now includes 10 of the largest U.S. markets, including Chicago, Los Angeles, Baltimore and Dallas, Stern spouts a corrosive mixture of sexual innuendo, racially charged denunciations and bedrock humor that has earned him the top of the ratings in most of the states where his daily morning show airs.

Celebrating his rising place ratings in downtown Los Angeles last week with a mock public reception at two instant local fairs, the self-described "king of all talents" declared, "I will continue these days at the brand of this." "I'm told a woman who had been a model to appear on the show by passing a sexually explicit song. 'Why don't you bend over and start singing. I'll

bang you when it's right." Despite the sexism, Stern is popular. In Dallas, where Stern has been on the air for only a month, KSEA program director Brian Kyrus said, "He's showed a 30-per-cent increase [in listeners] without any promotional."

But where Limbaugh has critics, Stern has outright enemies. For the past year, professional musician Al Wood has made a crusade of bringing Stern to heel. A year ago, after taping 47 examples of Stern's sexual, racial and neo-conservative humor broadcast on Los Angeles station KLOS 98.1 over a period of six weeks, Wood filed a complaint with federal regulators. Declared Wood, "I heard material that offended women, that offended minorities and that quite frankly offended me." After reviewing the excerpts, in which Stern referred to his Los Angeles rivals as "bitchy" and "jazzies" and engaged on-air mistreatment, the FCC asked, serving the station with fines totaling \$126,000.

Stern came under attack from another quarter in November. When the early Internet host said of the Philippines that "I think they eat their young over there," the Congress of Filipino-Americans in California filed a \$10-million suit for damages in New York Supreme Court. Said Gonzalo Velez, a spokesman for the group, "When he makes innuendoes against a whole people, I

don't think it's funny. I think it's disgusting." Stern, who declares to be unswerving, responds to his critics on-air. "Nobody has asked me to tone down," he said last week, adding, "I don't think this radio show is obscene." Indeed,

Storn, who fancies to be unswerving, responds to his critics on-air. "Nobody has asked me to tone down," he said last week, adding, "I don't think this radio show is obscene." Indeed,

Stern's misadventure to be wrong rather than shrinking. In addition to a forthcoming suit that would for the first time late last week, Stern promises the latest in a series of videos: *Shut Up! Fuck! Fuck!* Pleading as contents overly to his listeners, Stern said, "It's got 'Lashon Levay' connections," "Guns! Who's the Jew?" and the

vague tribute "KRAZY KRAZY, meanwhile, predicted that "practically anyone would prevent the FCC from even collecting any fines directed at stations that carry his show. Added Kyrus: "If you don't like what he's doing, you can turn the dial to another station."

In contrast to Stern, Donnelly's bad-boy persona, earned during the brief run of an all-nighter controversial television talk show in the late 1980s—called the *Martin Donnelly Jr. Show*—seems undiminished. That program ended after 23 months in September, 1989, when its host acknowledged being an assault against him by side heads in an attempt to remove sagging ratings. Donnelly returned to radio in March but is based on 94 stations and he plans to revive his TV show in January. He claims to have followed—to a degree, "I haven't become softer," he said last week. "I've become more tolerant that there are other opinions that people have." Americans may be taken aback by the thought of Donnelly as the voice of decent

opinion as their increasingly virulent America. But in comparison with Limbaugh and Stern, he may well merit that description. What is far less certain is whether, between Limbaugh's bombast and Stern's ranting, there is room for anything else.

CHRIS WOOD in Dallas

LOOPY HUMOR, SHORT ON FACTS

America's top talker shows no opportunity for self-promotion. Taking a recent recent from other shows on his highly influential show, Rush Limbaugh issued books that he has not had a copy of his book, *Why Things Ought To Be* (Doubtless, \$22.95, up to the owners. "For three months Madonna sat up and said, 'pussy for effect before coming,'" as *The New York Times* best-seller list. But now let's put Madonna on that list."

Limbaugh's dense and meandering fan book (not even to stand alone on the shelf) is not just, but before Madonna's sex. A small issue, perhaps, but it illustrates the shortcomings of Limbaugh's first effort as a writer. The normal radio and television host has been bested by a book. He cannot regard for fact, however, in part due to the fact that he has attempted to be taken seriously by his own listeners. Limbaugh's first effort as a writer. The normal radio and television host has been bested by a book. He cannot regard for fact, however, in part due to the fact that he has attempted to be taken seriously by his own listeners.

Limbaugh's book reflects its origins in his widely popular syndicated daily radio

program and nightly TV show. Like them, it is a little more than a loosely assembled collection of analogies on various topics, originally dictated to collaborator John Ford, an editorial writer for *The Wall Street Journal*, who wrote the book and on-air—cover the familiar preoccupations of America's right wing, from the various expressions of the welfare state to the steadily solid to the place of prayer in public schools (the "prayer" part).

But unhappy for readers, the loopy quality that enlivens Limbaugh's on-air persona translates poorly to the printed page. The book is so disorganized that it seems to have no perceptible structure at all. For one thing, feminism is the subject of chapters 13, 15 and 17, with digressions in between to congressional overruling and late 19th-century socialism. Limbaugh's meandering, when he descends from loopy humor to make a serious point, is frequently sloppy, and unfocused by self-contradictions—as well as overstatements. "We have more troops in the country today than when the Declaration of Independence was written," is one brazenly faulty claim. And he begins on the previous page his repeated assurance that liberal exponents

of environmentalism and minority rights wish "to do almost everything that America stands for."

The book's most entertaining elements are internal parts extracted from his broadcasts. A now dedicated to Senator Edward Kennedy, to be used in the text of *The Way Things Ought To Be*. "Once I'm a philosopher, you a philosopher," I sleep around, around, around, around, around." And Limbaugh does make some highly valid, if hardly original, points about the decline of America's willingness to assume responsibility for their actions, and the erosion of radical feminism (as that content, he approvingly quotes Macaulay's columnist Barbara Kazian).

His book is certain to provide Limbaugh's more strident and more in the Republican party with some sharp ammunition to hurl at its predictable herd of hooligans. But more curious is what all the fuss, let alone the 10 weeks to date on the *Times* best-seller list, is all about.

C.W.

The fire this time

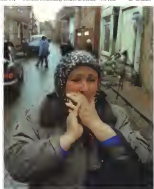
Nazis target Turks and other immigrants

The memorial service drew up to 10,000 mourners to a small mosque at Hainburg, Ostend, those who were killed as Turkish boys ran on tables while a Muslim cleric read from the Koran. The coffins contained the bodies of a 51-year-old Turkish woman and two Turkish girls, aged 14 and 10, who died during a Nov. 23 firebomb attack by Nazi youths in nearby Mölke. Nine other people were injured in the fire, including an 83-year-old woman and a 9-month-old baby. It was the deadliest of more than 1,800 racist or anti-Semitic incidents in Germany this year that have killed at least 34 people—and it went down among the top of Germany's 1.8-million-member Turkish community. Turkish Ambassador Ömer Özgen told the mourners, "For 30 years the Turks have worked and lived in peace here in Germany. We did not deserve such treatment. We have contributed a lot to make this society prosper."

When days of the attack, the federal prosecutor's office, which is conducting the Mölke investigation, announced the arrest of 25-year-old Michael Perren and eight teenage accomplices on suspicion of forming a Nazi gang with possible links to the firebombing. And the government banned the Nationalist Front, a small, ultra-right party which calls for the deportation of all foreigners. But these actions did not soothe the anger of Germany's Turkish community, the country's largest ethnic minority. In Berlin's Kreuzberg district, home to most of the city's 146,000 Turks, young bands of Turkish youths clashed with police after failing to find racist skateboards on which to vent themselves. "We really will kill the next bastard we see," said 23-year-old Mehmet, wearing a talisman pulled down over his head revealing only dark eyes flashing with racism. He refused to give his last name. Added a masked companion, who also demanded anonymity: "I'll be an eye for an eye with these Nazi cowards, but we'll cut off their balls too."

Because Germany's racist violence has been largely directed at asylum seekers, refugees and Jews, the Mölke attack deeply shocked the country's long-established Turkish community. "There are not people who teamed with just the clothes on their back and a backpack, and are out in the streets begging,"

said Milli Meyer Joachim Dörfler. "Some of these people have been here for 30 to 40 years and they have rights, too." For most Turks, those rights do not include German citizenship or the ability to vote. But they do include equal protection under the law. Said Erkin Özcan, a Turkish community leader in Berlin: "We re-



A Turkish woman mourns the Mölke victims' assistance

ly believed that we had somehow managed to integrate. Now we are that there are some people who will stop at nothing to drive all non-Germans out of Germany."

As the attacks on foreigners continued, Chancellor Helmut Kohl tried to stop the rising wave of violence. He denounced the Mölke firebombing as "a disgrace," and praised the contributions of Germany's guest-workers, or guest workers. Kohl said that many foreigners had arrived in West Germany in the 1960s and 1970s at Bonn's request to help rebuild the country's economy, which was still suffering the aftermath of the Second World War. Official data show that there are about 2.4 million foreigners in the workforce of 27 million. But

Kohl looked out at reports that describe Germany as xenophobic. Apparently determined to avoid alienating right-wing voters, he obtained his defense of foreigners by saying that leftists threatened Germany's democracy just as much as rightists.

Bonn's chief of domestic counterintelligence, Eckhart Wenterbach, challenged Kohl's assertion. Wenterbach said that there were far more extreme rightists in Germany—about 40,000 in a population of 79 million—than leftists. He added that he was concerned that skinheads in loosely organized gangs might join established ultra-right parties. Even now, according to a recent opinion poll showed that German attitudes towards ethnic minorities are among 74 per cent of respondents said that there are too many foreigners in the country.

In another eerie reminder of the Third Reich, fear is spreading among Germany's five million handicapped people that they will be the next target of racist violence. Some Germans in wheelchair say they have already been spat on by young thugs, beaten up and told "Leave this place. You would have been gassed." Indeed, concerned politicians have begun to sound warnings about attacks on the handicapped, who as the view of racist neo-fascism are increasing with the right to live. Declared Social Democrat Opposition Leader Björn Engholm: "Persecutors are the target today. Tomorrow it will be the disabled—this has already started—and the day after tomorrow, left-wing trade unions and others who think differently."

In that late-1930s climate, some German Turks are beginning to take up arms to defend themselves. A Turkish community council in Hamburg who gave his name only as Ahmet, said that he was stabbed 16 times by a 16-year-old, stabbed 16 years ago. Now, he says that he has stopped believing that Germany will ever accept him as anything but an outsider, or outsider. "But you know, we won't give in or move away like the Jews are doing," said Ahmet, referring to a recent flurry of mass expulsions to Israel by Jews in Frankfurt. He added, "We aren't the Jews. We are Muslims and we are not the Jews of tomorrow. If we have to give back then there will not be a blade of grass growing anywhere." Following the tragedy in Mölke, that nightmarish prospect of revenge killings sent a deep chill through all Germans.

ANDREW NELSON with JOHN HOLLAND in Berlin

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HONG KONG

A high-rolling game

Democratic reforms challenge China

On the 38 square miles of Hong Kong island, and in the adjacent mainland territory of Kowloon, many of the five-million residents show a larger appetite for gambling than the high rollers of Las Vegas and Monte Carlo. During the year's horse racing season which ended last week, residents of the British crown colony wagered \$6.6 billion—more than \$1,700 for every man, woman and child. They dropped additional millions on illegal mahjong games. Now there is a new challenge for Hong Kong's elite members: the unexpected rift between China and Britain over how much democracy will be allowed to survive when Beijing takes control of the colony in 1997. Some insiders are betting that London won the contest of wills. Others are figuratively—and in many cases, literally—putting their money on Beijing. But most have elected not to play. Said retired top court judge Jimmy Wong, who fled to Hong Kong from China 40 years ago: "We don't believe we have any control over events. So we just wait and see what happens."

A lot has already happened since Hong Kong's march towards re-absorption by China was suddenly thrown into turmoil in October by newly arrived Gov. Christopher Patten, former chairman of Britain's ruling Conservative party. In a speech to the colony's governing 60-seat Legislative Council, Patten proposed that voters have a larger role in selecting the 1995 council which Beijing will inherit two years later. China responded angrily, accusing Britain of trying to renege on a hand-over agreement that the two countries signed in 1984, and of trying to undermine the pact of 1987, China-drafted Hong Kong Constitution.

Neither side appears ready to compromise. British Prime Minister John Major has endorsed Patten's plan, and the government has secured moral support from the United States. And last week, China's hard-line Premier Li Peng flatly refused to create either the treaty with London or the new constitution. Declared Li: "This is a mat-

ter of principle. The Chinese government will never compromise on matters of principle."

The prospect of being trapped in a tug of war between Britain and China has frightened some members of the Hong Kong community. Last month, the colony's stock market began a two-day slide that left it 3.3 per cent below the value of the previous week. Foreign investment

between London and Beijing, and asked him to withdraw them.

But Patten has insisted from the outset that his plan does not conflict with the post-1997 constitution, called the Basic Law, under which 30 of the 60 legislative council seats would be filled by direct elections. Under the 1984 treaty, the remaining seats would be filled, as they are now, by candidates simply appointed by various interest groups. But Patten wants a radically broader number of voters to have a say on how these appointments are determined. China has refused his invitation to make a counterproposal to his plan. And the governor, who has received demands for a referendum because, he argues, it would be drawn, has said that if Beijing does not make a counter-recommendation, he will ask the legislative council next March to approve his reform package.

Some Chinese leaders said that Patten's



Patten reviewing honor guard ending Britain's policy of bowdlerizing to the Chinese

was also reconsidering Hong Kong veterans. And last week, a government committee narrowly authorized financing for building a new multi-billion-dollar airport, an action that caused further consternation in the colony. China has flatly warned that it opposes the airport proposal and will not honor any contracts signed without its approval.

At the same time, published polls indicated that public support for Patten's Oct. 7 proposals, added in the beginning, was beginning to dwindle. Many of Hong Kong's business leaders, concerned that supporting Patten could hurt their business relationships with Beijing after 1997, have publicly said they let with China. In mid-November, the Business and Professionals Federation, a major business lobby, concluded that the governor's proposals violated the spirit of the 1984 Joint Agreement

proposal contravened the 1984 Sino-British Joint Agreement. Others alleged that they violated a set of so-called secret letters earlier exchanged between London and Beijing. To buttress its argument, the Major government released those letters in October, but their publication left the British embarrassed. Analysts said that they demonstrated that the government of then-Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had given in to China's demand to limit democracy in Hong Kong after the hand-over—despite London's public pledges to protect the colony's democracy.

In the face of Chinese hostility, some of Patten's supporters have taken unusual steps to see that his proposal is adopted. Last week, Legislative Councillor Christine Loh won overwhelming support for a resolution strongly backing Patten's proposed reforms. Declared

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Loh: "We've seen Britain's apportionment towards China before. It's right for us to be skeptical, because Britain's record is not good." Lawyer Martin Lee Cheung, a council member and the leader of Hong Kong's democracy movement, said that the current political battle arose because Britain had extended too much to Beijing. He added: "Britain used to allow China to make unreasonable demands and the philosophy was 'Don't offend China.' But I think the Brits got fed up with lowering and now I think they'll stick with this program."

Although Hong Kong's English- and Chinese-language newspapers carry front-page stories about democratic reforms almost every day, the war of words surrounding it appears to have had little impact on the ordinary life of the colony. Despite its uncertain future, foreign companies, including Canada's, report no great increase in inquiries from prospective investors, whose numbers multiplied in earlier disputes over Hong Kong's future. Property prices are still rising. Persons flock to new hotels. Restaurants and movie houses cater to capacity crowds. A huge, long-running exhibit of Western and Chinese paintings at the Hong Kong Convention Centre was packed last Sunday and visitors reported that everything from Salvador Dalí etchings to John Lennon sketches were selling briskly. "Hong Kong people want a little democracy," said shop owner Wang. But, he added, "We want to make money, too."

Still, many of Hong Kong's wealthier citizens have already prepared for the worst. The majority of students attending the colony's English Schools Foundation institutions, originally established to teach the children of British civil servants, are now Hong Kong Chinese. Most of these children are what I call "returning Chinese," explained a primary school headmaster. "They went with their parents to Canada, Australia or the United States for a few years while their parents waited to obtain foreign passports. Now that their parents have that, they have come back to live in Hong Kong. If things get bad, they will simply leave."

But to Robert Chang Tingzuo, head of Hong Kong University's Social Research Centre, the colony is a more complex society. Still Chang

"This is a city of political refugees from China. The young people are radicals, and they want democracy. The business class just wants stability—most can leave wherever they want to, so they want to be able to exploit Hong Kong's economic position as long as possible. Thus there are the ordinary Chinese people: many are former neo-Confucians, but most of them

he said "It won't be the same China then." And for many residents, the future generates excitement. Woo Chi-wai, president of Hong Kong's new \$1.8-billion University of Science and Technology, which opened in 1991, reports that many of the U.S. and Canadian recruited faculty still find Hong Kong's union with China as their reason for coming.

"It's not that they are pro-Communism," says Woo, a former president of San Francisco State University. "It's that they see a great opportunity. They see that all Asia is improving, and China is coming along." That optimism, he pointed out, is widely held. "I'm not worried," said a Hong Kong policeman watching his beat in Shatin. "My job will stay the same. It might even get better, because the Chinese don't just let criminals off the hook. There, punishment is certain. That will make my job easier."

Change is not only a subject for speculation; some evolution has already occurred. Mandarin, China's official language, formerly scorned on an island almost wholly Cantonese-speaking, is becoming popular among students and, increasingly, the public schools are offering courses in the language. Several of the colony's most renowned and prestigious international schools now feature their Mandarin language programs as a selling point. Workers, especially civil servants, say they are beginning to contemplate the reality of working for new bosses.

Meanwhile, in a city long associated with international struggles, manners still abound. One is that China may try to reduce so well by shutting off the colony's water supply. Another is that Beijing will set up a shadow government in neighboring Shenzhen. A third is that Beijing may even send in the army before

have an old Chinese attitude—they want consensus, harmony."

In fact, there is a widespread belief among Hong Kong residents that China itself will change before 1997. "I think China is changing so rapidly that you won't even recognize the place five years from now," says a Chinese senior executive at Jardine Matheson Holdings Ltd., the pre-eminent old Hong Kong trading company, which has interests in practically every sector of the economy. "The old guard that runs Beijing today will be gone by 1997,"

he said. "It won't be the same China then."

RAR CORRELLI with JANE LINDORFF in Hong Kong



Hong Kong: a contrast of mids in a city that loves intrigue

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GOVERNMENTS AS SAVIORS

AS THE RECESSION DEEPENS, VOTERS TURN TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENTS FOR NEW ECONOMIC DIRECTION

Michael Treadwell's experience of looking around at the Canadian economic reality seems to be paying off. The 34-year-old senior Calgary executive, like most others in the industry, is used to operating a company in a climate of extreme volatility, where an event halfway around the world can cause wild swings in creditworthiness on commodity markets. But years of being buffeted by global forces has prepared him for this. Treadwell's Strategic Energy Services Ltd. for the current period of worst domestic economic turbulence. To limit the potentially disastrous impact of sharply rising interest rates or a depressed dollar, Treadwell says that he, and a growing number of his oilfield colleagues, have now adopted sophisticated new "financial engineering" products. Those tools, which long-overlooked banks are aggressively marketing, allow companies to minimize operating risks by fixing interest rates, currency at critical points through complex, noncommercial credit hedges and swaps. Says Treadwell: "We have learned the hard way how important it is to outpace uncertainty. This time around, we're ready for it."

For most Canadians, facing a weak dollar that fell to 77.73 cents (US) last week, and price leading rates that soared to their two-year high of 8.25 per cent, are less optimistic.

In fact, many businesses feel that long-term

planning during the current uncertainty is extremely difficult. Said Richard Woodward, a professor of finance at the University of Calgary: "Such volatility is incredibly onerous. Businesses have problems making plans, and people generally feel that national government has been disempowered and that things are sliding out of control." Indeed, against a backdrop of domestic austerity, chaos over global trade issues and the fragile future of the European economic union, the role of governments in directing national economies may be about to change dramatically.

After a decade of decentralization, deregulation and free-market rhetoric in Britain, the United States and Canada, some experts say that there is a growing need for strong central government and for government intervention in the economy. Recent polling by Maclean's strongly supports the fact that such a trend is becoming an entrenched pattern among Canadians. Said Robert Bothwell, an economic historian based at the University of Toronto: "People are fed up with the policy of drift and the subject of anticompetitive market forces. Government is slowly starting to realize that they cannot just shirk the responsibility of providing direction and stability."

That was underscored last week when the federal government, which began disrupting the airline industry in 1986, threatened to "socialize" it again if the two leading domestic airlines do not voluntarily adjust their overcapacity. Just one day before Transport Minister Jean Charest issued that warning, the Conservative cabinet finally approved a \$50-million cash advance to keep faltering Canadian Airlines International Ltd. of Calgary temporarily afloat. The government's growing intervention in the domestic airline sector, however, was a double blow to its already-chipped credibility, since they were elected to office in 1984, the Conservatives have repeatedly disavowed both regulation and government business of troubled industries. Said Barry Preston, acting director of the transportation institute at the University of Manitoba: "The underlying assumption was always that deregulation provides efficiency by letting the market find its own level. But the government didn't seem to take into account that you buy efficiency at the price of stability."

The rebuffing of popular enthusiasm for an active central government is clearly demonstrated in the recent election of Democratic Bill Clinton as President of the United States. The defeat of the incumbent Republican, George Bush, who marked the end of support for the concept of "new federalism," which Bush's predecessor, Ronald Reagan, first put forward. While Reagan and Bush wanted to allocate greater authority to the individual states, the equivalent of political decentralization, economic decentralization were noticeably reversed. As a strong federal government with tax-changes economic policies.

In fact, Clinton's stated intent to spur economic growth and create jobs through increased government spending will heighten the fact that significant appeal back at home and abroad. The strong performance of the greenback on global markets since the election reflects the optimism of international investors, who are eagerly directing their investment capital to the United States, despite its relatively low interest rates.

At the same time, the Canadian rejection of the Charbonneau constitutional accord in the Oct. 26-midweek-matched referendum for the concept of political decentralization. Under that proposed agreement, the individual provinces would have assumed significant powers without over fiscal and social progress. As well, noted Bothwell, the government-funded



French farmers burning U.S. flag, protesting against GATT agricultural deal

stranded in the recent election of Democratic Bill Clinton as President of the United States. The defeat of the incumbent Republican, George Bush, who marked the end of support for the concept of "new federalism," which Bush's predecessor, Ronald Reagan, first put forward. While Reagan and Bush wanted to allocate greater authority to the individual states, the equivalent of political decentralization, economic decentralization were noticeably reversed. As a strong federal government with tax-changes economic policies.

Where Ottawa does play a pronounced role, however, it usually attracts sharp criticism. The widespread sense that post-referendum Canada is now stalled as an economic and political dead-end—a message that was clearly reinforced by the weak performance of the dollar on international markets—was emphasized last week when the United States reported an impressively strong growth of 3.8 per cent for the third quarter of 1992. Despite the fact that its options in the U.S. economy has historically been beneficial for Canada, many economists remain unconvinced. Indeed, they say that fewer economic policies were meeting Canada's participation.

The fierce fight waged by Bank of Canada governor John Crow to control inflation by supporting the beleaguered Canadian dollar with higher interest rates is having a destructive effect, several economists agree. Said Ernest Bockart, managing director of the economic forecasting firm the HBM Group in Toronto: "As long as Ottawa cuts its spending and keeps interest rates high during an economic downturn, it won't matter to Canada what happens

Business Notes

BUYING TIME

Richard J. Toronto real estate company Olympia & York Development Ltd. made some gains in its attempt to avoid bankruptcy proceedings in the United States. Omega Bank Corp. threatened to enforce, then delayed, a \$13.5-million judgment against the U.S. real estate assets of the financially troubled developer. OYD got another break when the Toronto-based Edgar group deferred legal proceedings seeking immediate payment of \$10.8 million, as well as 198.3 million in missing capital from the jointly owned Bellerby Park Hotel in Las Vegas. The group's legal action will resume on April 1, 1993, if it is not paid by then.

JOB'S DERAILED

Canadian National Railway's schedule adjustment that it will cut its capacity to 33,000 jobs from its 34,000-employee workforce over the next three to five years. George Hamworth, Canadian director of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which represents 2,500 CN employees, faulted the plan for not following a meeting with Paul Teller, the former clerk of the Privy Council who became president and chief executive of the Crown-owned railway in October. CN also plans to shelve branch lines throughout its network and close smaller maintenance and repair shops as part of a cost-cutting drive.

MILITDOWN IN STEELTOWN

Hamilton-based Dofasco Inc. said that it will close a part of its operation that produces about one million tons of steel annually. As a result, the company will eliminate 2,000 jobs. The company will shut down early retirement, voluntary severance, annual strikes and, if necessary, layoffs. That will bring Dofasco's workforce to 7,000 by the end of 1993.

NETWORK NEWS

Under pressure from the CRTC, and after frequently furious fighting, some of the eight owners of CTV's 35 affiliate stations have agreed to negotiate new ownership and affiliation agreements with the private national network. For the first time, affiliate owners are guaranteed payment for running network shows, regardless of whether CTV itself turns a profit. As well, the new agreements guarantee the veto power that the various affiliate owners hold over network decisions. Newfoundland Broadcasting Co. Ltd., the smallest of the six owners, is to decide this week whether it will continue as an owner or become an affiliate.

in the United States." Michael McCrory, president of Information Ltd. in Ottawa, added that because "policy management in Canada is so much weaker" than in the United States, the outcome will be "much deeper" than the Deutsche Mark-Crisis. "The situation with inflation is shared with Canada and Germany. There is no sign to date that inflation will prevail."

Although a lower Canadian dollar is expected to boost export volumes in the near term as well as lowering imports, experts caution that high interest rates are damaging over the long term. And while some inflationary pressures, including those of the Free-trade Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, show a three-per-cent average growth figure for Canada by 1993, high interest rates could easily undermine any recovery.

The trend to endorse strong central governments with clear national agencies may be causing a political and economic realignment in North America. In Europe, however, it is clearly threatening the survival of the national economic union. This was the year that Europe was supposed to take its first steps towards a single market with a shared currency. Instead, it has tumbled out to be a year riddled with better nationalistic recommendations and well-fated attempts to achieve a closer union. Last week, the European Community finally acknowledged that it will not meet in January 1993, because it effectively eliminated all national buyers within the group, a fundamental common-market objective.

Next week's economic summit meeting of 12 leaders in Edinburgh, which coincides with the one-year anniversary of their signature of the Maastricht Treaty, is unlikely to resolve the heightened tensions among members or their growing list of grievances. The past year has been marked by increasingly bitter disputes and outbursts of frustration among its members, many of them focused on the intractable Helmut Kohlmeier, president of the German central bank, who has repeatedly refused requests to ease an anti-inflationary domestic monetary policy.

Most recently, however, it is the volatile French reaction against an agricultural agreement concluded under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that has driven member countries apart. "A transcending super-government is great in theory," noted U of T's Belsky, "but in practice, it doesn't work when it's time to implement decisions."

Although the French are striving to keep the franc pegged to the German mark under the strict exchange rate mechanism (ERM), domestic concerns clearly dominate that country's current agenda. French farmers have vocally and physically expressed their outrage against the recent GATT agreement that proposes a 22-per-cent cut in subsidized U.S. farm exports over the next six years. The government has supported their opposition,

threatening to veto the accord, so part because it fears crucial national elections in March. Under French electoral rules, which date back to its agreement pact, most voters still elect the government with five urban votes. Meanwhile, protesters fill the streets of Paris have burned stacks of wheat, the American and British flags and threatened to storm parliament.

The problem of dealing with national sovereignty in the context of a superintended EC government has also emerged in disagreements over currency moves. Although Britain was exempt from adopting the proposed single European Monetary Unit when it signed the Maastricht Treaty, it did agree to fix the value of sterling against the mark under the ERM. But since September, when Britain succumbed to international pressure and devalued its currency, abandoning the ERM, several other countries have followed its example and floated their currency. Italy, Finland and Sweden no longer peg their currencies to the ERM, while Spain and Portugal, although remaining on the exchange-rate structure, recently devalued their currencies by six per cent to ease interest-rate pressure on their domestic economies.

Among the right nations that still adhere to the ERM, four have recently been targeted significantly to increase their interest rates. Domestically, that action has been extremely unpopular. As a result of these economic complications, the EC now seems to be devising rapidly into a two-tier system, with a group of five nations, including Germany, and floating exchange rates, rather than the single, united group envisioned just a year ago. Noted Andrew Spence, an international economist with the Royal Bank of Canada: "A two-speed Europe is already a reality because of all the fluctuations within the ERM."

But even economies where strong central authorities have traditionally dictated clear national agendas have been vulnerable to the growing global force of the economic recession. Major German companies, including Daimler-Benz and Bosch, have reported sharply lower third-quarter earnings, while unemployment levels and sluggish overall economic growth have become issues of increasing concern. After an average annual growth rate of four per cent in real gross national product for the past two years, Germany is now expected to grow by about one per cent in 1992 and even less in 1993.

As well, a similar economic contraction is expected to take place in Japan, which also has a tradition of active government involvement over the next year. There, despite recent production cuts, companies are still relying on both domestic and export sales (all but sharply). Already, the Japanese manufacturing sector has cut spending by 13 per cent this year, including such previously sacrosanct areas as research and technology. Clearly, there are some economic problems that no amount of financial or political engineering can solve quickly.

DEBORAH MCURDY

A riskier business

Life insurers regroup for the 1990s

The late afternoon sunlight streamed over Confederation Life Insurance Co. chairman Patrick Burns's shoulder one day earlier this fall as he sat in his Toronto office and noted that he is likely in the twilight of his 46-year career. But unlike many other top-level executives approaching retirement age, the straight-talking 44-year-old has had little time recently to sit back and reflect on his journey. After spending

rapidly in the late 1980s, and averaging some tenacity that as competition in this booming real estate market, Canada's third-largest life insurer has suffered some sharp reversals over the past year. In 1990, Confederation's profit fell by 82 per cent to \$19.2 million after it made provisions of \$150 million for nonperforming real estate investments, mostly in real estate last week, the company announced plans to become the first Canadian insurer to directly tap public debt markets with a \$300-million issue of subordinated debentures. However, while Confederation's experience is unusual among Canada's large life insurers, Burns acknowledged that Confederation had, indeed, the entire industry face major challenges over the next few years. "Total a recovery comes, you are going to see other companies left with the same problems," said Burns. "We just might have been a little earlier and a little more acute than others."

Many industry executives and analysts say that sobering assessment is accurate. And last week, the respected New York City rating agency Standard & Poor's, released a long-awaited report on 30 of Canada's largest life insurance companies. For more than a century, those companies have been among the most stable and successful in the world, and the agency's ratings of the claim-paying ability of all 31 of them confirmed that. In fact, 28, including Confederation, are A+ (excellent) or better. But the report also warned that the industry will have to meet unprecedented strains in the 1990s. Among the reasons new regulations permitting Canada's Big Six banks greater entry into the insurance business, the

waning popularity of highly profitable long-term life insurance policies in favor of term insurance, a shortage of investment opportunities and administration and sales costs that Standard & Poor's said are too high. As a result, Mark Puccia, Standard & Poor's director of insurance ratings, predicted that "some companies are going to be forced out of business."

For instance, Puccia said that the Sun-

life will have to trim their administrative bureaucracies to remain competitive. "There are going to be some cutbacks," he said.

Even before Standard & Poor's released its report, Canada's life insurance industry was already showing some signs of stress. In January, the Montreal-based Caisse Populaire Mutual Life Insurance Society, a medium-sized company which operated almost exclusively in Quebec, became the first Canadian life insurer to fail in more than a century, largely because of the company's poor real estate investments. The Caisse-owned more than \$110 million to its policyholders, and its collapse has sparked a court battle over who will reimburse them.

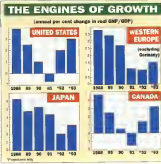
In 1990, the industry established its own consumer protection fund called CompCorp,



Royal Bank lounge in Toronto circling around the edges of the insurance business

which is funded by a half-percentage-point levy on each member company's annual premium income. The fund raised \$40 million earlier in 1990 and will likely raise \$60 million this year. But in the case of the Caisse Populaire, CompCorp has asked Quebec-based life insurers alone to pay the entire cost of the bailout, preventing a still-unresolved lawsuit preferred by 13 Quebec insurance companies.

In preparing last week's report, Standard & Poor's scrutinized associations with the companies that they rated and examined both public and private financial data. Insurance executives understandably said that they were pleased with the resulting high ratings. Con-



peril with more than 1,000 other insurance companies that Standard & Poor's rates around the world, the Canadian life insurers' mostly AAA and AA ratings are extremely high. The world average is 58%, meaning that an insurer's financial security "may be adequate."

But in addition to the ratings, the 30-page report also assesses the industry's growth prospects—and came to relatively pessimistic conclusions. First, the study argues that population trends and consumer preferences are working against the industry. Demand for life insurance is directly related to population growth, and experts predict that growth will diminish over the next decade. As well, during the years of high inflation in the 1970s and early 1980s, the so-called baby boomers who still dominate the financial-services market shied away from traditional long-term policies that eroded timeliness in value during those years in favor of term life insurance and other short-term investments that offered them better returns.

Confederation's Burns, for one, argues that baby boomers also have grown up with government social programs that protect them from catastrophe have never been as receptive as their parents were to the traditional insurance representative's promises of security. Added Burns, "People were no longer as frightened of premature death."

Because of that changing demand, Standard & Poor's predicts that life insurers will likely continue to diversify into annuities and other savings instruments in the 1990s, products that now account for about half of their business. But these instruments are similar to those offered by banks and trust companies. And because life insurers must match the returns offered by their competitors, those vehicles are far less profitable than traditional insurance policies.

That shift to asset-type business, and the aftermath of the upheavals of the 1970s and 1980s, have also forced insurance companies to re-think their investment strategies. During the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, investing was comparatively simple: Life insurers backed long-term policies with investments in long-term bonds or mortgages—many of them with 25- or 30-year terms. Defaults were rare, and interest rates were stable and predictable, but in their efforts to steer through rapidly changing markets and to continue to grow during the

1980s, some insurers moved into risky and unfamiliar territory—and were badly battered.

Because of such experiences, most Canadian investors' executives have reexamined their beliefs to a conservative investment strategy. But that so-called flight to quality has created problems as well, because there is a limited number of low-risk, top-grade investments in Canada, and the competition for them is intense, and driving up their prices. Adding to the uncertain prospects for life insurers is the near-certainty that Ottawa will soon allow banks to compete directly with them. Ottawa

sees companies out of business if all barriers disappeared, they claim that because of decades of regulatory protection, the banks possess unfair competitive advantages that are unlikely to erode. John McNeil, the outspoken chairman of Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada, the nation's largest life insurer, claims that one of the biggest advantages the banks have is their access to almost complete computerized financial information on their customers. "Life in the life insurance business have accustomed the banks' customers only because they are in the telephone book," McNeil said. "We do not have access to that privileged information."

But even McNeil acknowledges that "the banks are going to get into the insurance game one way or another." Indeed, Standard & Poor's predicted that Ottawa will likely remove the last barriers to bank entry by 1997. For their part, the banks are already circling around the edges of the insurance business. Although the banks failed to win the right to sell their own insurance in their branches in the latest banking law revisions, they did gain the right to buy insurance companies. Last week, the Royal Bank of Canada became the first bank to do so, buying the nation's largest travel insurer, Britannia, Ltd. based Vancouver. Insurance Co., from its British-based parent company for an undisclosed sum.

The Standard & Poor's report said that the prospect of bank entry will hasten the abandonment in the life insurance industry. Faced with that, many unprepared, medium-sized companies in particular are likely to disappear. He added that whether they sell off all or portions of their business to other companies, merge or

simply fail depends on decisions the industry makes itself. "There is a chop-and-run and an expensive alternative," he said. He also questioned whether CompCorp would be able to withstand several winters. Per his part, Mark Dunan, president of the Canadian Life and Health Insurance Association, the industry's umbrella group, agreed. Declared Dunan, "CompCorp is like the overboard. Hopefully, we'll get the doctors in there [bankrupt]."

But despite that speculation about doctors and overboards, the Standard & Poor's study confirmed that, for the moment at least, most of the patients appear to be remarkably healthy.



Poon: "Some companies are going to be forced out of business."

legue deregulating the financial-services sector in 1984 with the intent of eliminating regulatory barriers among banks, trust companies and insurance companies. But so far, it is better between two of the most effective lobby groups in the country, the life insurers have blocked the banks' drive to gain the right to sell life insurance in their branches. Under revisions to banking and insurance laws passed in June, the barriers remain.

Businesses argue that they can provide insurance more cheaply through branches than insurers can by selling through agents and brokers. But life insurance executives vigorously dispute that argument. Although they concede that the banks would likely drive many insur-

body language *n.* the nonverbal imparting of information by means of conscious or subconscious bodily gestures, posture, etc.



'93 Civic Coupe **HONDA**



Airline message: merge or die

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

If God had meant us to fly he would never have created Canada's airline policy. Most countries, some with twice our population, can no longer afford to keep two national airlines afloat. Even some of the world's strongest nations, such as Lithuania, Atlanta and Air France, are searching for what they call "strategic alliances," which really means ways of spreading their losses. The sad fact is that no matter what temporary solution is hammered out, in the long run there is no way we can afford two independent national airlines. Air Canada and Canadian Airlines must either amalgamate or become the northern pincers in a restructuring dominated by U.S. partners.

Although it appears to be the only way we can maintain at least one national airline, even the forced merger of the two carriers looks like a business proposition. Between them, Air Canada and Canadian carry a debt load of about \$7 billion. That would burden the merged parent company with the third highest debt level of any airline in the world, a just about untenable debt equity ratio of nearly 30:1, and the highest debt-to-revenue ratio of any carrier will leave enough to fly. In other words, putting the two airlines together under their current operational codes is no solution.

The most helpful gesture Ottawa made last week was not the rejection of \$80 million to Canada—which was like throwing a 3-foot rope in a man drowning 40 feet from shore, while yelling "We see you, man, that half way." Much more significant was the accompanying warning by Transport Minister Jean Carlier that if the airlines don't stop dabbling one another with seat sales, and if they refuse to cut back their assured capacities, Ottawa will step in to do it for them.

The current practice of double-tracking is bizarre. Between them, for example, the two airlines fly 38 times a day from Calgary to Vancouver and back again—with half-empty flights leaving and arriving within minutes of each other. The carriers' overcapacity now

No matter what temporary solution is hammered out, in the long run there is no way we can afford two national airlines

amounts to nearly 30 per cent; but a why between them, they are currently losing nearly \$2 million a day. (DWA Corp., Canada's holding company, last week reported a 64-percent drop in the airline's earnings for the year's third quarter, exclusively on account.)

Maybe the Calgary-based Canadian has had to go along with the theme of selling seats below cost, the price wars have almost always been triggered by Air Canada. After its prohibition in 1986, the former Crown corporation felt it had to emphasize its dominance by overbooking on new planes and artificially propping passenger loads through contractual rentals of seat sales. Canadian understandably interpreted these tactics as the Montreal-based airline's way of trying to drive it into the ground. "Air Canada's tactic," says Lytton, Canada's chairman, "is to put Canadian Airlines out of business." He added, "They intend to accomplish this both by using their bigger bank accounts to outlast us and by threatening the government."

Lytton is running out of time in his desperate attempts to remain outside Air Canada's clutches. His macroeconomic room is trying to put together a deal that might be acceptable to American Airlines is severely circumscribed

by the dispute over the Gentler reservation system he shares with Air Canada. One of American's conditions for injecting \$550 million into Canadian is that the airline switch to American's computers, a step that has prompted Germany to launch a \$1.5-billion lawsuit against PWA and a \$500-million lawsuit against American. (Air Canada's biggest investors overstepped legalistic bounds when the air line threatened to sue Ottawa if it gave Canadian any money—this from an airline that during its 52 years as a Crown corporation happily accepted billions of dollars in government subsidies.)

One of the unknown factors in the whole equation is how long American itself can stay out of the leadership courts. In terms of revenues, American is the largest airline in the United States. Ten last year, it managed to lose \$200 million on revenues of \$15.6 billion. The profit picture is even gloomier for this year, and American chairman Robert Crandall has already announced that with his airline losing extra 1990 expenditures of \$1.4 billion, he will ground those airplanes in his den that are on short-term leases.

Ironically, one of the few airlines worse off than American is Continental, whose former president, Willie Harris, now runs Air Canada. Harris rescued Continental from 33 months of unsuccessful bankruptcy reorganization with a \$380-million investment. The deal seems to make superficial sense because it would allow Air Canada to become a North American carrier that Continental, which has been a bumpy ride since 1981, is saddled with an aging fleet and low staff morale. Worse, the partnership's potential synergies depend on Canada and the United States successfully negotiating their long-delayed "open skies" policy. One of the issues at dispute: Air Canada is not allowed to fly into Denver, one of Continental's major hubs.

The toughest aspect of this cruel dilemma is the number of staff reductions that may be required if Canada's airlines are ultimately merged. As many as one-third of their combined workforce of 35,000 could be laid off. The better offer by Canadian employers to cut their salaries by up to 14 per cent and thus contribute about \$200 million towards financing the American merger is a highly commendable move, but it may not be enough to turn the tide of ill will.

Reinold Hardley, the Transport Minister, as those who have made a specialty of studying the effects of deregulation on Canadian airlines, last week suggested that the only solution may be "to buy up Air Canada and PWA, merge them, and create a single, publicly owned transcontinental carrier." It's probably right. The advantage of a monopoly (if it is one) is that it is tightly controlled so that it allows for the optimum use of aircraft capacities and minimizes the exorbitances of scale. Since Canada's taxpayers are probably going to end up footing the bill for rescuing the airlines anyway, we may as well get something back for it. Welcome to the upside-down world of the 1990s.



PRIME-TIME VIOLENCE

DESPITE HIGH RATINGS FOR VIOLENT SHOWS, REVULSION IS GROWING OVER BLOODSHED ON TV

It was a standard evening's fare on prime-time television. In a mere two hours last week, Canadians could watch a serial killer stalk prostitutes on a Delaware highway—and claim his third victim. They could also choose between programs smoldering rape trial, drug addicts' agony, heavily armed detectives and the relocation of two children from their mother's arms. To conclude the evening, they could watch a movie about a Chicago lawyer who bludgeoned his wife to death before an accomplice shoots him in the head and dumps her body into a canal. According to George Gerbasi, a communications professor at the University of Pennsylvania, prime-time dramatic programming in North America features an average of six to eight acts of violence an hour—and two murders each evening. Despite reviewers' support and high ratings for some violent TV shows, there is a growing revulsion among viewers to the blood-spied and violent death on the small screen. On Nov. 18, 14-year-old Virginia Larrabee, of St. Polycarpe, Que., presented federal officials with a petition signed by nearly 1.3 million Canadians and personally signed Prime Minister Brian Mulroney for legislation to limit television violence (page 48).

The petition reflected a simmering debate over the effect of violence on TV audiences. During his meeting with Larrabee, whose younger sister was raped and murdered last March, the Prime Minister issued a blunt warning to private broadcasters: cut down on violent programming or the federal government will legislate restrictions. Still, senior Canadian television executives maintained that they are already carrying a lower number of violent programs than they did a few years ago. They also argued that if Ottawa forces them to cut back further, they risk losing viewers to American stations. Meanwhile, some of the action dramas currently being shown on North American television are being produced in Canada (page 48).

Teachers and child-care workers say that violence in television and



Violent TV: Children become desensitized.

Photo: [unreadable]

movies may be one of the factors contributing to violent crime in Canada. Said Tamas Wilensky, a University of British Columbia psychology professor and editor of a 1988 book, *The Impact of Television*. "It has been shown that exposure to violence in the media desensitizes people. It has a negative effect on people and leads to aggressive behavior as some viewers."

Many researchers say that violent TV and movie images lead to increased violence in society (page 50). They also point out that children's exposure to an enormous amount of violence on television. Gregory Foster, a

psychology professor at the University of Calgary who has studied the effect of television on the behavior of children, says that there are, on average, 25 to 27 acts of violence an hour in children's programming, which is made up largely of cartoons. Brian Bockley, who teaches media literacy at the Kingston Collegiate and Vocational Institute in Ontario, said that television producers only use visually jarring and scary scenes, or "joke per minute," to hold the attention of their viewers.

Beats: Many parents say that they are disturbed about the effect that depictions of violence may be having on their children. "I am very concerned about the impact that some of these shows are having on our daughter," said Donal Mills, a Halifax businessman who has a 13-year-old son and a daughter of 11. "She is very frightened of being alone alone. All of these scenes against women, which are depicted in the media, have made our daughter extremely cautious." Other parents complain that TV violence is so routine that even their

Acute violence makes an impact on children. Sharon Richardson, a Montreal human-resources consultant and author of *Graham, 15, and Graham, 11*, said that she sometimes makes her children turn off the TV set in the middle of a program because of the violence. Said Richardson: "Once Gerbasi told me, 'It wasn't violent, it was just close shooting.' He thinks that's not violence, because he saw so pass. I said, 'What a monster, you are superstitious. That line was crossed.' And he answered, 'But there was no suffering.'"

Several citizens' groups have begun lobbying the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) for regulations that would limit TV violence. "We believe the overwhelming weight of research points to the harmful effects of violence on television," said Rose Dymally, director of the Toronto-based Canadian Concerned About Violence in Entertainment. "But there has been a continuing disregard by the industry to those harmful effects."

While critics of television violence say that children are the viewers most likely to be harmed, teenagers themselves are divided about the effect that TV violence has on them. Jeremy Kroyen, 16, a Grade 11 student in Halifax, said that he doesn't in the major cases of teenage

crime. "I don't see and not all the violence I see on television," said Kroyen. "Unless you're a psycho or a diplomat, you know the difference between right and wrong." According to several students, action programs are frequently more violent than police or drama shows. Said Rebecca Hunt, 16, a Grade 11 student in Calgary: "I don't take seriously someone being killed in a TV show. But when I see it on the news it worries me."

Confronted by criticism of network programming, many TV executives say that they are now filing their prime-time slots with locally filmed and conceived instead of police and other action dramas. Gary Hansen, for one, vice-president of operations and corporate planning with Toronto-based City Television Network Ltd., said that the network's most popular weeknight evening shows include *America's Funniest People*, *Home*, *Unsolved Mysteries* and *A Different World*. Added Hansen: "The real pain that people find objectionable is far from most produced by Hollywood."

TV executives also say that the growing popularity of reality-based programs, including *Street Real*, *Top Cop* and *America's Most Wanted*, is a reflection in the reduction in the police drama series like *Picket Fences*. They also argue that although programs of that type frequently contain violent scenes, they play a socially beneficial role by recreating actual crimes and tragedies. "It is important that real life be examined," said Moses Zaitman, president and executive producer of CTVTV in Toronto. "The last thing that any audience person wants is a situation that places a child on the emotional level."

Indeed, Zaitman accused Ottawa of creating "implanted hysteria" against network television by threatening to legislate controls on programming. He said that the TV networks, including the CBC and CTV in Canada and NBC, ABC and CBS in the United States, have become much less powerful during the past decade because of the growth of specialty television services and pay TV. Zaitman said that most Canadian households are now able to receive specialty services from as few as 30 to 50 channels. Added Zaitman: "The public is extremely powerful, because the public has alternatives. If you want well-to-well *Ames of Green Gables*, you can get it."

In Canada, the publicly owned CBC views itself as an alternative to the commercially driven networks and corporate officials say that they try to curtail violence in its programming. Phyllis Platt, director of network programming for English language TV, said that the CBC does not carry American-made cartoons on Saturday mornings because they frequently contain too many scenes depicting violence. Platt added that the network also avoids reality-based programming. Said Platt: "As a corporation, we take a tremendous amount of care with issues like violence and language."

As well, defendants at the antiworkshop point out that some of the worst violence is contained in movies that are playing in theatres or are available on cassette that people can rent from neighborhood video rental stores. Said David Maza, president and chief executive officer of Toronto-based Global Communications Ltd.: "There is violence in our society and violence in our communications media. Most of the violence is coming from the cinemas and the video stores, which is the outgrowth of the success."

Critic: Many critics of prime-time television, including psychologists, sociologists and educational researchers, contend that program producers continue to rely heavily on violence for purely economic reasons. Gerbasi, who is regarded as one of North America's leading experts on mass media, and that network TV executives have always opted for violent programming because it is cheaper to produce than sophisticated drama, and it is far more profitable. He said that action shows require less talent, less expensive actors than drama. As well, networks have found that violent shows launch more quickly than drama or comedy in foreign markets. Said Gerbasi: "Violence travels well in foreign markets. It is a low-cost, high-profits commodity."

According to Gerbasi, the economics of violence are so even greater for children's programming. Violence, he says, is much easier to depict in cartoons. But he added: "Producers of cartoons rely on an assembly-line approach to churn out six to eight-minute episodes, each with standard plots and characters. He said that producers can develop new cartoons easily by using the same plot and a variety of characters, but by changing the cast. The result is what he calls a "video ghetto for

TELEVISION MAY ALSO BE HARMING STUDENTS' ABILITY TO LEARN

children, a state full of high-density, cheaply produced, extremely lucrative programs.¹⁰

According to a study published by Statistics Canada, violence is leading to increased aggression, hostility and crime. Figures published by Statistics Canada appear to confirm public concerns about rising crime. According to the federal agency, there were almost 300,000 violent crimes of all types committed across the country last year, up from 41,900 in 1982—a 700-per-cent increase. Juveniles between the ages of 12 and 17 committed 25,000 violent crimes last year, up from only 3,800 a decade earlier.

Still, some experts say that the increase in violent crime is actually a result of changes in the way that offences are reported. Elliot Layton, an anthropologist at Memorial University in St. John's, Nfld., and author of a 1986 best-seller on sexual killers, said that because more Canadians now consider domestic abuse of women and children a crime, those offences are being reported more frequently. Layton added that murders and car theft are the only two crimes that have been consistently and accurately reported throughout that period. Says Layton, "The only way to get the truth is to have a team out there that they know how to collect the evidence. And murders go reported because it is too hard to hide a body. All the other figures are incredibly political and subject to manipulation."

[illegible]

Many children's revolutions at-

abuse at home. When these children commit violent acts, he said, they are usually repeating the type of behavior they have witnessed or experienced in the home. Added Sgt. Dennis Guss, an officer in Langley, B.C.: "I have been doing this job too long to think that watching a movie is going to be an important factor in turning a kid into a bank robber, without that kid having some predisposition to behaving in a criminal way."

Endicott: "Other child-care professionals must that TV violence is at least contributing to the increasingly aggressive behavior of children. Alan Leischel, assistant director of the London, Ont., Family Court Clinic, said that the facility treats about 200 adolescents a year from across northwestern Ontario. He said that all the children are facing criminal charges and have been referred by the courts. Leischel said that when he began working at the clinic 15 years ago, most children were charged with theft, breaking and entering or other property crimes. Now, almost half the boys who are referred to this clinic are charged with sexual offences."

Many teachers support the claim that television is having a major effect on the way children behave. Kirby Stockings, principal of Queen Elizabeth High School in Halifax, says that many students are aggressively rude, but he attributes to the influence of television and popular music. "The grammar of what is appropriate has become a dialect," says Stockings, but Malcolmo, a high school drama and English teacher in Kingston, Ont., says that students unconsciously learn and more aggressive attitudes from television, even from apparently harmless situation comedies. Said Malcolmo: "I have frequently seen violent reactions to unfriendly attempts to set standards. Some students react to negative language and facts really fast. And they are proud with each other and with teachers."

Teacher influencing behavior, television may also be affecting students' ability to learn. Malcolm and other students stare on television sets passively, have short attention spans and become twitchy in class quickly. He added that teachers have to jell their students frequently with startling information to keep their attention. Added Kingston's Brian Bortolone "We are living in a visual age and kids rely on what they see on a screen. Students have no patience for dialogue or subtle humor. They want action."

Although most Canadian parents



Scenes from *Lethal Weapon II* (top), *The Hard II* (middle) and *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*: 'People say that they're concerned with violence and action, but they're still making up to see this stuff'

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Convicted murderer John Sherritt (above) **Tom Sherritt** of the series **Picket Fences** (below): evidence that TV inspires some teenage crime

have been since television's first discount anti-television programming, the 20-000-candlestick Action for Children's Television has scored a significant political victory in the United States Committee president Peggy Charbon, a 64-year-old grandmother from Cambridge, Mass., said that the organization convinced Congress to pass the Children's Television Act in October, 1990. The law, which came into effect a year later, stipulates that broadcasters have to serve the "educational and informational needs" of children or face the risk of losing their broadcast licenses.

Still, a survey by consumer groups of 35 stations in August revealed that none had produced new programming to comply with the law. Instead, they had simply established existing programs, in many cases cartoons, as educational and informational.

The broadcasters are in trouble now. They were thinking their

years' Act, and you can't really do that to Congress.

Meanwhile, Canadian broadcasters say that the federal government may find it difficult, if not impossible, to adopt content regulations. Michael McCabe, president of the Ottawa-based Canadian Association of Broadcasters, said that any law aimed at curbing TV violence would likely violate the freedom of expression provisions in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. He added that even if Ottawa imposed restrictions on violent programs, many Canadian viewers could simply switch channels and watch the same shows on American-based stations. Said McCabe: "The government is creating expectations they cannot fulfill."

Bonus: Canadian broadcasters already have a voluntary code on TV violence, introduced in 1987, which encourages them to avoid showing excessively violent shows early in the morning. It also contains provisions dealing with violence against women, children and members of ethnic groups. CBC chairman Keith Syrett said that the commission has asked broadcasters to develop new, more stringent guidelines. He added that the commission may use compliance with these guidelines as a criterion for renewing licenses. Said Syrett: "The commission expects to hold in a civilized balance between freedom of speech and social responsibility."

Despite the growing public unease about violence on television, most broadcasters insist that they are merely providing the type of entertainment that viewers want. CTV's McNamee noted that the movie-going public continues to line up and pay to see such violent movies as the recently released box-office hit *Money Alone 2: The Come*, starring Michael Cudde, as a sequel to the 1990 movie about an eight-year-old boy whose parents inadvertently leave him at home when they go on vacation. In both the original and the sequel, the boy is forced to defend himself against two incompetent burglars. The sequel, which contains scenes depicting an exploding hotel and an electrocution, attracted five million viewers and grossed \$25 million in its first week. Said McNamee: "People say they're concerned with violence on television, but they're still lining up to see this stuff."

Indeed, the broadcasters argue that the Canadian public, rather than the federal government, possesses the power to stop violent programming. "The real power of the public is to sponsor the material," said CTV's McNamee. "If enough viewers don't watch it, it will disappear in a second. Nothing speaks louder to producers and distributors. People sign a petition, look to government to solve their concern, then go home and watch the stuff." Still, mounting concerns about violence on home screens—and Virginia Lurie's heavily backed petition—may be evidence that the old patterns of nonresponse are changing when TV violence is concerned.

BARRY JENSEN with **KIM DUNN** in *Heaven*; **BARBARA DOYLE** (designer) in *Street*; **KIM DUNN** in *Galaxy* and **ADRIENNE WOOD** in *Passion*

OFFICE POLITICS.

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A CHILD'S CRUSADE

**MORE THAN A MILLION
CANADIANS BACK A
YOUNG QUEBECER WHO
ABHORS TV VIOLENCE**

Virginie Laroche says that she still remembers the moment when she also danced on her 17th birthday on a wedding afternoon in March while she was attending the funeral of her 11-year-old sister, who had been robbed of \$6, then raped and finally strangled five days before. "I kept asking myself why anyone would want to do that to Marie-France," the Quebec youngster, now 14, recalled. "And it suddenly occurred to me that it might well be the result of all the violence that my sister and I used to watch on television." Pressing to brush a strand of light brown hair from her eyes, the teenager gave him this disclaimer: a defiant shrug and added: "Maybe there's something wrong with my reactions, but I decided right then and there that I was going to try to do something about it."

Eight months later, on mid-November, Virginie Laroche wheeled the results of her decision into the parliamentary office of federal Communications Minister Pierre Boivin. **Message:** It consisted of a box of college-bearing 32 cardboard boxes stuffed with petitions signed by 1,383,453 Canadians, all of them responding to a campaign conceived and organized by the teenager and her family. The petition demanded the enactment of new legislation designed to gradually curb and eventually eliminate violence from TV screens across the country. She also carried the message directly to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney: "My mother and my stepfather and I worked 15 hours a day, seven days a week for 323 days to gather those signatures," said the youngster as she handed a card in the family home outside St-Hippolyte, a village in the St. Lawrence Valley 60 km west of Montreal. "It will end 'leaving Marie-France back, but a couple help to present others from suffering a similar fate."

Laroche's younger sister was murdered on March 7 while the family was visiting relatives in the St-Vincent-de-Paul area of Laval, a Montreal suburb where Marie-France took \$6 and went off to buy bread from a local convenience store, around 7 p.m. on a Saturday evening. The girl never returned. A railway employee on a passing train spotted her body only the next day in a field beside the railway line, about five kilometers from her relatives' home.

**Laroche with
her mother and
stepfather
signatures
from all parts
of Canada**



home. The child's body was fully clothed, but a subsequent autopsy disclosed that she had been sexually abused. Her mother and her uncle insisted that she died as a result of having been strangled. The money had disappeared. Said Laroche: "It was the beginning of our horrible nightmare."

Despite a \$20,000 reward, posted by the San Youth Organization of Montreal, a charitable organization that supports community activities, Marie-France's killer remains at large. The last discovery date is the family's only clue to talk about the very much "and" Prince Lambert, the girl's stepfather. A barely 47-year-old woodworker, Lambert also readily acknowledged that the family has no proof that television violence played a role in Marie-France's death. At the same time, Lambert maintains that evidence exists to support a link between many violent crimes and the daily diet of murder and other crimes that appear on TV screens. In any case, Laroche said that she made the connection herself and became determined to act on her belief. "It's the way she chose to handle her grief," said Lambert.

Signatures: From the start, the members of Laroche's immediate family have solidly supported her. Both Lambert and the girl's mother, Nicole Boivin, 41, have been working almost full time on the campaign to gather signatures ever since Laroche decided that she wanted to circulate petitions against TV violence and send them to Mulroney. "We formed this member family a committee where all the decisions have been taken," said Lambert. After a Montreal press conference organized with the help of San Youth, Laroche's petition gained widespread publicity and signatures began pouring in from all parts of Canada. Lambert estimated that the campaign cost more than \$20,000, almost all of it raised by individual donations or through contributions of supplies and equipment from very few private companies. Still, Lambert's woodworking business has suffered, as has his wife's endeavors in raising and marketing premium asparagus. The girl has rarely attended school during the past several months, an absence that her parents, formerly silent but now vocal, have noted with concern among her Grade 8 teachers at the village school.

The family home, on an acre of land off a rural road about five kilometers west of the village, has gradually come to resemble a political election headquarters. Last week, stacks of petitions were still piled high on the kitchen table at the comfortable 150-year-old log house, despite the fact that the campaign officially ended on Nov. 15. Laroche's room upstairs was crowded with new curious hall of signed petitions that the family plans to send to Ottawa to supplement those already delivered. A fax machine, on loan from Bell Canada, beeps almost continually in a corner of the living room. And the telephone was nearly always in use. Among the callers during an interview with Maclean's last week was a television network in

Montreal, July, a newspaper in Vancouver and the producers of the CBC television program, *News Page One*, wanting out the final details for taping a grant appearance later in the week.

By Laroche was flattered by the attention, it did not show. The girl, who speaks only French, is occasionally posed for a 14-year-old. But apparently it was not always so. Her mother said that the girl has undergone a dramatic transformation since the death of her sister and everything that has happened in the wake of the tragedy. "Marie-France was the funniest in the family," said Nicole Boivin, a petite brunette in blue jeans. "Virginie was the quiet one, always deferring to her little sister." She stated her daughter for a long moment as the girl posed for photographs with the aplomb of a professional, then continued: "It's almost as if she has decided, now that Marie-France has gone, to take on the name of her sister's personality." Added Lambert, "The girl is more like a 16- or 17-year-old now."

The girl's campaign served her well in Mulroney's office on Nov. 18 when she boldly interrupted the Prime Minister in mid-session. After Mulroney congratulated her for her efforts, he said that inquiries would insist on changes in broadcasting rules if the broadcaster themselves did not act. "It's not enough to just react," she cut in—to the surprise of Mulroney and the delight of some members of the assembled media. "You'll have to pass a law." Asked about her behavior, Laroche said she was the celebrated incident. "It was nothing special," she said with a giggle. "I was just lucky enough to have been in the Prime Minister's office to what I think without having to pay \$250 to go to a luncheon to get the same privilege."

Expanding: After campaign, Laroche declared: "There's just too much violence on television. Look at movies like *Robocop* and *Tomb Raider* and all those *Rambo* things. How many people are killed in those pictures?" Worried to the subject, a note of mature anger crept into her youthful voice as she said that even children's cartoons have constantly serve up "horror or live or so-called acts of violence every Saturday morning." The girl's parents clearly share her view. Said Lambert, who fully added an agreement, "I read somewhere that the average child has witnessed something like 12,000 murders by the time he or she reaches the age of 18. Isn't it time we all said that we're not enough?"

Support: The response to Laroche's petition makes it clear that there are millions of other Canadians who share similar concerns. The teenager's campaign clearly struck a responsive nerve, drawing support from individuals and organizations across the country, even from one isolated town in the Northwest Territories. Keith Spicer, chairman of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, congratulated her for demonstrating "exceptional leadership." The Canadian Association of Broadcasters said in a statement last week that it shares her "grave concerns."

In recent months, Laroche has addressed a meeting of the Quebec Teachers' Congress and several other labor unions. Even some members in Quebec province at Bordeaux and Cowansville asked her to visit and, when she did, they responded by offering more than 2,800 signatures to her petition.

Virginie Laroche remains refreshingly relaxed by the reaction. "Oh, I'm not surprised," she said. "It proves that there are a lot of other people out there just like me. I thought going about the violence I need to watch on television just got me tired. But I'm a different person now." Ultimately, her petition and other expressions of concern could help to change attitudes towards depictions of violence and their frequent presence on the nation's television screens.

BARRY CAHILL in St-Hippolyte

**THE
PETITION
IS 'THE
WAY
VIRGINIE
CHOSE TO
HANDLE
HER GRIEF'**



COVER

TRUE-TO-LIFE TV

REALISTIC SHOWS EARN TOP RATINGS

On the set of *Secret Service*, a television show was struggling to make sure that the program included a generous mix of two of TV's most ring-thriller genres and sex: an episode scheduled to air on NBC in January, the most in murder by murder events, and the sex involves an affair between a minister and a woman in the church choir. In one scene shot on location in a Toronto church office, the pretty priest manages the minister's shoulders as her robe falls away to reveal a

scanty pink dress. Although the scene reflects much of current TV fare, *Secret Service* is actually part of a new type of programming, which the industry calls reality-based television, because the scripts are based on actual case histories. TV industry experts say that audience-pleasing such shows as *Secret Service* and *Top Cop* because the violent action scenes in such of our life. Send Kevin Gills, vice-president and executive producer of Toronto-based Skyvision Entertainment, which produces *Secret Service*. "God knows the numbers show it. People will watch violence."



Push a growing trend

Scene from *Secret Service*: murder

reality of warfare into living rooms around the world with special impact. Gross, a former Manitoba police detective, has had firsthand experience with on-the-street violence.

In 1972, he worked as a consultant on the movie *The French Connection*, which was based on a heroin-smuggling case that he helped to investigate. Gross later moved into TV and says that he now is comfortable about recounting true-crime stories. "There is a lot of violence in *Top Cop*," said Gross. "We

try to show the heroism of police who do things you and I wouldn't do."

According to Gills, economic factors are also driving the rapid growth of reality-based TV. With the number of channels growing steadily, revenues that the major networks once took for granted have declined sharply. At the same time, the rapidly expanding TV industry acquires more programming. Industry experts add that an episode of reality-based TV provides relatively cheap and popular programming. According to Gills, it can cost \$1.5 million to produce an hour-long episode of *Star Trek*, while an hour of *Top Cop* costs about \$400,000. Sent Gills: "There is such a propensity of media channels. You have to have something out there."

Plunge: Cost-cutting techniques help to account for the lower costs of reality-based TV. According to Walter Klawns, a Toronto-based special-effects artist, some effects cost thousands of dollars to create, while others can be achieved quite cheaply. Klawns said that producers can buy an old car to plunge from a cliff for as little as \$200. Throats can be realistically cut for \$10 and fake bullet holes placed on bodies for about the same price.

As TV becomes more sensationalized in its depiction of violence, some people involved in the industry say that they are increasingly repelled by what they see. Gordon Smith, a Toronto-based artist who created the special effects for Hollywood producer Oliver Stone's *plunge* and *plunge*, said that TV violence is disgusting because it does not show the consequences of brutality. Smith said that on TV, the hero can shoot someone in the head, but the viewer is spared the depiction of the exploding skull. As a result, said Smith, some people may come to think that violence can be carried out without consequences. Send Smith: "If we really showed the full extent of violence, people wouldn't watch it."

"Still, the fact remains that shootings are increasing, which means that the real reality of violence will likely keep gaining blowing on television screens for years to come."

TOM FENNEL

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THE POWER OF 'COWABUNGA'

DOES TV VIOLENCE INFLUENCE BEHAVIOR?

During the past two decades, researchers have studied—and debated—the issue of whether television violence encourages violent behavior in viewers. Although some experts contend that the links are spurious and overstated, others say that violence in the media causes widespread harm in society. According to a landmark report on TV violence published by the Washington American Psychological Association in February, by the time that an American child has left elementary school he has watched 6,000 murders on television. The task force concluded that TV violence can encourage aggressive behavior. "The screen portrays in angry, hostile words," said Mary McCormack, a clinical psychologist in Victoria who took part in a 1973 study that assessed the effect of television on rural British Columbia. "Television is not reflecting the world, but the world is starting to reflect television."

With more than 1,000 studies published worldwide on violent entertainment, most experts now agree that the impact on viewers is largely negative. Although violence has traditionally played a central role in popular culture, researchers say that the sheer power of television makes the impact more insidious. "It's more riveting and addictive than a busy life—and more easily copied," said Wendy Josephson, an associate professor of psychology at the University of Winnipeg, who has studied the effect of TV violence on aggressive behavior in young boys.

As well, a report released in May by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission concluded that the results of more than 200 studies that there is a link between exposure to TV violence and violence in society. The 64-page report acknowledged that the links are difficult to assess. Still, is CBC chairman Keith Spicer could, "renew some sense of us that this must be true." Added Spicer: "Why else do advertisers spend millions on television commercials if there is no impact on our behavior?"

Chaos: Some schoolteachers and child-care workers say that the effect of popular TV shows on children is obvious. Terry Harrison, who teaches preschoolers at Desquard's Children's Center in Newmarket, Ont., 25 km north of Toronto, says that the sound of a three-year-old boy yelling "Cowabunga!" is a war cry that

can unleash chaos in the classroom. "Suddenly, we are faced with a hell of a gang of Wagon trying to kick each other in the legs," said Harrison, referring to the popular cartoon show *Tenacious Mink*. *Ninja Turtles*, which has been criticized for excessive violence.

Although all TV viewers are exposed to some form of violence, experts say that children are most likely to be influenced by it. Indeed, a 1981 study of 108 children's cartoon programs from Chicago, Ill.-based National Council on

may be less in behavior than in the perception of violence itself. Declared Vira Bera: "People come to see violence as a normal part of life that it really is."

Many researchers say that the most vulnerable viewers may be young people who have been brought up in families where there is frequent physical violence. Sandra Campbell, executive director of a Toronto-based firm of educational consultants, *You Associates*, says that while children see violence on television



Graham with her class: The *Ninja Turtles* war cry can unleash chaos in the class

Television Violence found that half the cartoons involved violence—and showed their latest in many acts of violence in prime time television.

Some experts say that the cumulative effect of such exposure can cause trouble later in life. George Comstock, of the Center for Research on Aggression at the University of Syracuse, N.Y., and that on the basis of conclusions reached in 220 studies, at least 79 per cent of all violent behavior in American society results from viewing violence in movies and on television.

But other researchers play down the link between TV violence and real-life violence. "It's not that clear-cut," said Judith Van Dusen, a psychology professor at Ontario's University of Waterloo. "More aggressive children tend to watch more violent television." Van Dusen added that studies indicate that the real impact

and experience violence at the house, they are at increasing risk of learning positive social skills. Added Comstock: "Children living in dysfunctional homes are really handicapped in their understanding of problemsolving between people." De Park Dietz, a Los Angeles-based forensic psychiatrist who testified at the 1991 trial of Milwaukee serial killer Jeffrey Dahmer, maintains that first per cent of adult urban males, or five million men, in the United States have antisocial personalities. Said Dietz: "Television can arm them to commit a violent act or even teach them a particular technique." And experts like Dietz say that until steps are taken to curb it, television violence will continue to provide vulnerable viewers with a dangerous script for problem-solving.

DEANE BRADY

PEOPLE

Basic instincts

Kate Vernon says that she was always determined to be an actress, even though she was warned at an early age about the career risks by a veteran—but father, Canadian actor John Vernon. But she persisted and her gentle approach to her job paid off. Vernon, 31, plays Sophia, the white lover of Mulanese X, in the recently released epic



Vernon: reaching for quality

movie about the life of the black actress who was assassinated 27 years ago. Still, experience counts. Directed Washington, who plays Mulanese X, and working under acclaimed director Spike Lee was more challenging than Vernon had anticipated. "Spike is not an actor's director," she said. "I had to hear down and act for their quality." Added Vernon: "The acting around me was phenomenal."

Ordinary people pushed to extremes

In his 1990 book, *The Descent*, included a gritty murder and dismemberment scene that lasted 40 pages. Now, in his seventh work, *Black Dogs*, British author Ian McEwan weaves a tale of young lovers traveling in



Goodnight, Knowlton

As he announced his retirement from the CBC last week, veteran news anchor Knowlton Nash, 43, reflected on the controversy that is raging through the public network over the *Sinister* World War documentary. The *Sinister* and the *Warrior* said Nash, who began his career as a journalist in 1945, and who is working on a book about the history of broadcasting. "This kind of turmoil has always been going on. It's a good thing because it keeps the creative juices bubbling. Otherwise you get a pretty bland soap."

Nash: bubbling creative juices

THE GLAMOROUS LIFE

Even on *St. John's* comedy group *COBAC* begins its sixth season on CBC TV, the glamorous life remains elusive. The *Friday Night Girls*, two funny roommates played by Mary Walsh and Cathy de Klerk, remain two of the most popular characters on the show. While making ponds *Job-O* in her kitchen last week, Walsh said that she sometimes tries to be a diva herself. Said Walsh: "We were on *Friday Night* with Ralph Remengesau recently, with [Montreal singer] Sam Jordan, and backstage they were glomming us down and glomming her up."

Funny lady

Intelligent, acerbic author Margaret Atwood is also a humorist. At a recent fund-raising dinner in Toronto, she converted for photographers with old friend Pierre Berton. At least a foot shorter than the bearded Berton, Atwood traded in wit—to put her arms around his broad shoulders. Later, she delivered the opening lines of a country and western tune that she and writer Timothy Findley plan to sing at a benefit for AIDS, the association's authors' organization. Warbled one of Canada's most celebrated poets: "I've got tears in my eyes, from lying on my back, crying on my pillow over you."

Atwood: intelligence and acerbic wit



postwar France where they encounter a remnant of Nazi power so hideous that it changes their lives forever. Long fascinated with creating what he describes as "ordinary characters pushed to extremes," McEwan contends that his newest book is also a cautionary tale about totalitarianism.

McEwan: Nazi power



in social movements. "I think we used to conduct ourselves with the idea that the Holocaust was an isolated event," he said, "but recent events show us that we face the possibility of it happening again." Added McEwan: "It may just be a little tardiness—or it may be leading to something that is completely beyond our control."



The man with the golden touch

BY TRENT FRAYNE

Whenever he gives Mark Tewksbury orders his gold medal. He keeps it in a black suede pouch made a small custom bag. He wants it handy to show to the hundreds of people who ask about it. They like being a part of the triumph. A white tank, black caught Mike Johnson on the David Letterman television show and was startled when the notable American basketball player drew his shining gold medal from his pouch. "It was just awesome," Mark chuckled later. "He must never show it." For his part, Mark comes around his medal so he can show it. For him, this medal means more than a medal; it's a trophy.

Mark won it late last July in the swimming pool at Barcelona, where he was the first Canadian athlete to earn gold at the 1992 Summer Olympics. There is a nicely crocheted picture of him at the finish, arms long high, his body fully lifting his torso. For his shining gold medal, he has been in the 100m backstroke.

Met or dry, Mark is a very enthusiastic guy, an enthusiastic he takes, along with his gold medal, on a speaking tour stretching from coast to coast in the fall. He talks sophisticated stuff, about setting goals and going for them, motivation, talks about making it for high school kids but applicable to normal humans, in fact. When he finishes, Mark smiles, the medal on its thickened ribbon—red, black, yellow, green and blue, the colors of the five Olympic rings—and lets the audience go with it. He says everybody needs to do it, but then he goes back to his curiosity and delight when they touch it. He says he's been in an audience that goals can be achieved by hard work and dedication. "Whoever you undertake give it your best shot," says Mark. He is Norman Vincent Peale in more than one way.

Since the Olympics, Mark has delivered his message in 20 high schools in Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Okla., Okla., Winnipeg, Toronto, Barrie, Ont., Ottawa and Halifax. His agent at the International Management Group

'Whatever you undertake, give it your best shot,' says Mark Tewksbury, a Norman Vincent Peale in swim trunks

Bike Canada, estimates that by the end of 1993 there is a number of Mark's contracts: e.g., he will have spoken to 25,000 kids at 50 schools. His sponsor since 1989 is the Investors Group, and Specialized wear was his equipment sponsor. Last winter, his healthy lower—be resembles a young James Garner—was plastered all over Toronto bus shelters in poster ads for jeans or a contract that has expired. Carole reports that Mark has a motivational look at the works and has established the Mark Tewksbury Junior Swim Bursary to aid promising young swimmers.

To the surprise of some people who had the notion that modern high-school kids are a cynic and unachievable bunch, Mark has found them to be highly receptive to his kindness. "The big majority want to be motivated," he says. "They want to have goals and if some of them are inspired by seeing the gold medal, that's what I'm after."

The medal has served as a symbol to Mark since two major disappointments at the 1988 Games in Seoul. Korea. First, there was his failure to do better than fifth place in his backstroke, especially a setback that almost caused him to give up swimming. Next came the press Rex Johnson made of his career as a sprinter,

a tarnishing of Olympic ideals that depressed Mark. Those ideals had mattered to him for the dozen years since 1976 when he'd sat home in Calgary as a 17-year-old eighth-grader watching the Montreal Olympics on television. Canada didn't do all that well in the Montreal Games. Even so, the bronze and silver medals earned by Shantien Smith, Nancy Gossop, Cheryl Gibson and Becky Smith, and the effort and determination of Graham Smith, then Canada's best male swimmer, fired young Mark's imagination.

Remember that, back when he was four years old, Mark's father Roger was transferred by his oil-company employers from Calgary to Dallas. The weather is always stifling and humid in summer in Texas, so his mother Donna regularly sent little Mark off to a swimming pool to cool down. He has been lapsing in and out of pools ever since, the past decade under the skilled direction of coach Derek Sneling in Calgary.

When Mark talks of Derek he breaks into his toothy grin and puts the medal. "He wanted it more than I did," he says. "He'll soon be 50 and this is his first Olympic gold. He used to be a dad assistant in the Finnish market. 'Never give up on Derek's coach.'"

That Mark almost gave up four years ago in Seoul, shattered by his fifth-place finish following a flood of successes in the Commonwealth Games and both the world and Pan-Pacific championships. What tormented him was a new backstroke technique by which swimmers were standing along underwater for as much as 45 m, practically the length of an Olympic pool, a technique much faster than looking across the surface. They would pop to the surface for a grip of air and a quick turn and disappear again.

Following the Seoul Games, the subterranean style was outlawed by FINA, the sport's international governing group. Now, swimmers must surface after no more than 15 m and the poolside lane made.

Of course, Mark didn't know about that coming rule change and he was ready to live up to his Specialized in the water of Seoul. What kept him on was Rex Johnson's plight and Mark's, own conviction that Pierre de Coubertin had the right idea when he revived the ancient notion of his and games in 1896. "The important thing is not to win but to be fair," was one of the Frenchman's notions. Another was, "The essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well."

So Mark began preaching that stuff in his speeches, especially at schools. People across Canada had been shocked by the Johnson revelations and Mark believed they needed to hear that the Olympics were great. "The more I talked, the more I realized the Olympics were great. I convinced myself."

So he went back to the jostling business of rolling out of bed at five a clock in the morning to fall into a pool of water. "Some mornings in Calgary it would be below zero and getting into the water giving me was tough." But suddenly, by a tiny fraction of a second in Spain, the misery was worth it. You don't believe it? Have you touched the gold?

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Birth of a continent

Scientists unearth Canada's long history

Seven billion years ago, the Earth's surface was a state of sometimes violent transition. While new continents were formed by the collision of colliding landmasses carried along the surface by the slow but constant movement of underground tectonic plates. According to a major study by Canadian geoscientists, huge mountain ranges once rose in what is now Eastern Canada, only to sink out of sight millions of years later. In the distant past, great seabeds were thrown up and now lie high and dry in the Rocky Mountains. Then, the land that was to become Canada was nearly split in two by a great continental rift. These and other earthly sagas have emerged from a study called Lithoprobe, an eight-year-old investigation into the makeup of Canada's geological crust. Led Lithoprobe's director, Ronald Clowes, a geophysicist at the University of British Columbia. "In many ways, we probably know more about outer space than we do about our own space—the planet on which we live. This project is designed to give us a better understanding of what we have ever had before."

At a cost of more than \$50 million so far, Lithoprobe is the largest geoscientific study ever undertaken in Canada. The scientists involved are trying to map the lithosphere, a rigid outer crust and mantle of rock that extends about 60 miles below the earth's surface. Based in Vancouver, Lithoprobe has enlisted hundreds of specialists in three main areas: geophysics—programs, geochronology and geology—large universities, the federal and provincial governments and industry.

For generations, scientists could only speculate on the makeup and configuration of the lithosphere. Now, Lithoprobe is gathering hard evidence on its nature and origins. "We have had to make intelligent guesses about what the Earth's crust is made of, and how it got that way," said Peter Savage, a geologist who recently retired from his job as exploration manager for Calgary-based Petro-Canada. Petro-Canada Ltd. (PCL) is Lithoprobe's lead sponsor. "Lithoprobe has given us a great deal of evidence to support those suppositions, while contradicting others."

Some of the project's earliest discoveries were made on the West Coast. Lithoprobe's findings indicate that much of British Columbia's landscape originated at some point during the last 180 million years, when huge islands migrated out of the Pacific Ocean and collided with the then-western shore. The resulting upheaval caused the land and seabed to tilt, and created the enormous ranges of mountains that run like veins across the province. The foundations of the Rocky Mountains there up pieces of seabed from an island once that produced the celebrated Burgess Shale deposit in the Rocky Mountains in Idaho. National Park near Park, B.C. Since it was discovered in 1909, about 140 species of marine invertebrates have been discovered in the deposit's fossil-bearing rock formations.

In the course of their investigations, Lithoprobe scientists have tapped some of the underground fluids that produce much of the earthquake and volcanic activity on North America's West Coast. A chain of volcanoes in the region includes Washington's Mount St.



Helen and Mount Baker. Clowes says that Lithoprobe's findings will not make it easier to predict exactly when earthquakes or volcanic eruptions will occur. Still, he said that from the broad knowledge geophysicists have gained of the underground structure, "we have been able to say where we think an earthquake would occur, and how big it would be."

Earth scientists first came up with the concept for Lithoprobe in 1981 at a meeting sponsored by Canada's Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council, but the project didn't begin until 1984. Among the techniques employed in the survey is an adaptation of conventional seismic exploration, in which

Seismic truck known as a dancing elephant exploring the continent's beginnings

zonal waves are used to detect the shape and makeup of underground geological formations. Traditionally, the technique was a staple of the petroleum and mining industries, but its use was usually restricted to relatively shallow depths of up to 15,000 feet. To create the necessary sound waves, Lithoprobe scientists use 20-ton trucks designed for petroleum exploration. They are equipped with heavy platforms and a vibration that causes the platforms to vibrate, sending shock waves into the Earth's thin bedrock and are measured by seismic sensors. Waves covered by water, reflectors are bursts of compressed air to create vibrations.

At the same time, the scientists used sensitive electronic measuring devices to record the returning seismic waves and developed sophisticated computer software to interpret the readings. As a result, they have routinely been able to see 50 miles below the Earth's surface. See Clowes. "The big thing about the project early on was this: In the first few years, it was a real dance—drift," Ray Price, a former head of the Geological Survey of Canada and now a professor of geological sciences at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., and the developer of highly sensitive seismic equipment was, for geoscientists, akin to the discovery of the seismic. See Price. "Learned of rifting on the cold side, we are now looking through telescopes or, better, through video telescopes that let us see into the darkness."

Participants say that one of the keys to the project's large-term success as the sheer number of scientists involved. Lithoprobe has in its disposal more than 400 scientists and students at 28 universities, a dozen federal and provincial agencies and 27 private companies. While scientists examine the underlying structures, others carry out an analysis of the rock formations near the surface. According to Price, one of the project's principal roles is to address where geophysicists should carry out seismic tests to reveal important underground rock formations.

The project is financed by an annual budget of \$4.3 million that is provided jointly by the federally supported Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (\$1.5 million) and the Geological Survey of Canada (\$2.8 million). According to Clowes, Lithoprobe is the largest geoscientific project currently under way anywhere in the world—and the only one that encompasses all of the earth sciences.

In the course of the study, scientists working on the first Coast of Canada have drilled the deepest ever about 1.2 billion years ago of a floating instrument about the size of India, which collided with the moving North American landmass. The impact was so powerful, they say, that it pushed a vast slab of land against the surrounding shoreline of the Canadian Shield, one of the oldest rock formations in the world. The result was a 4,000-km-long range of mountains, equal in height to the Himalayas, that towered above what is now southern Ontario

and Quebec. Millions of years of erosion by ice, wind and rain have whitened those mountains down to the point where they are no longer visible.

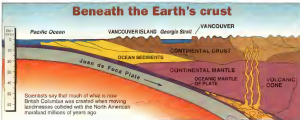
According to Clowes, Lithoprobe has also turned up a major geological puzzle in the form of a 2,000-km-long, 100-million-year-old rift system that extends from Kansas to Lake Superior and then loops down under Lake Michigan. According to scientists, the rift is 20 miles deep in places, making it the deepest on the planet. Project scientists say that they do not know exactly what caused the fissure, but they said that it nearly cracked the Earth's crust in places, an event that could have divided North America into two completely separate parts. "I did not know it, and we don't know why," Clowes says. Over most of time, the rift has been filled in by volcanic lava seeping up from below and sediments pushed down from the surface. See Price. "The rift was known to be there before, but Lithoprobe showed that as dimensions were grossly underestimated. It is a massive rift."

Some scientists say that the findings may help petroleum and mining companies to find valuable new deposits. Hugh Morris, chairman of Vancouver-based Imperial Oil Corp., said that even with Lithoprobe at mining near Sudbury, Ont., showed that there was potential for mineral resources in nearby areas where mining companies had not thought to explore. Declared Morris. "The days of easy exploration are past. We are now facing the challenge of searching for resources that are buried and hidden."

The petroleum industry stands to gain unexpected advantages from the new findings. The project has produced a broad picture of where the so-called basement of oil-producing sedimentary rock beneath western North America. Scientists say that the findings may not be as big as Alberta, which has been heavily explored, but it may cause exploration in mostly ignored areas such as northern British Columbia. See Savage. "It's difficult to relate this new information directly to where we drill for basement oil, but that is a goal that is not currently."

Clowes estimates that it will take at least 10 years to complete Lithoprobe. Much work of the actual testing completed, the remaining work will largely be spent analyzing the data and resolving new questions about the development of the continent. Scientists say that at this stage, Lithoprobe has already delivered more than they had expected. See Savage. "I think the process that Lithoprobe is going through will virtually rewrite the geological history of North America." And that, in turn, may give the people who have waited here a new appreciation of the land on which they live.

JAMES DELANEY





Guest lecture by Russian songwriter Bakat Okudzhava: the first act is to obliterate the newcomer's identity

EDUCATION

Letter from Northfield, Vt.

Mission to Moscow

Norwich University in Northfield, Vt., is the oldest private military college in the United States. Each year, it offers an intensive seven-week immersion program in the Russian language that attracts liberal arts students. North American journalists being posted to Moscow and personnel from national security agencies. In 1987, Maclean's Gazette Dennis Clair/Paul Kunkin was a student at the Norwich Russian School. Four years later, he has returned to look at how the end of the Cold War transformed his campus. His account.

Two hours south of the Canadian border, the roads approaching Norwich University wind around the breathtaking peaks and dizzying valleys of central Vermont. The institution is in Northfield, a New England town that brings to mind idyllic scenes from Norman Rockwell paintings. It is the kind of place where the Stars and Stripes hang from slender flagpoles attached to the front walls of white clapboard houses. Just passing through Norwich's gates, a visitor steps into another reality. Outlandish decorations adorn the grounds: a Second World War tank in a corner of the school football stadium, a reconstructed mural of a nuclear mushroom cloud in the cafeteria. Even more unsettling to the newcomer is the behavior of the staff and students. Everywhere a visitor walks, day or night, they fill the air with a peculiar buzz—the sound of Russian.

The atmosphere caused severe anxiety when I arrived at Norwich as an innocent Canadian student five years ago. I was in a country, after

all, that had deployed enough nuclear weapons to blow up the world 40 times over in the debris of thirty during four Cold War decades. Yet here, one of America's premier military campuses had been turned into a virtual enclave of the Soviet Union—the enemy that was the primary target of most of the workshops. At Norwich, all things American were banned. The first act of the teachers—almost all of them Soviet expatriates—was to obliterate the newcomer's civilian identity by assigning a Russian name. All of the buildings got one, too. Students were forbidden to speak anything but Russian on campus.

But it only took me a few days to realize that the Russian atmosphere was a patch of America made perfect Cold War version. One of my first clues was that many of the male students had crew cuts, a deliberately unattractive military look. During meals, they would hold discussions in minute detail about the geography of Leningrad, Msk, and Leningrad, Va.—respectively, headquarters of the U.S. Naval Academy and the CIA. In fact, it soon emerged, there was a busy collusion between the U.S. intelligence community and the Norwich Russian School. By the end of the program, it was common knowledge that a bewildering array of present and future spies was sitting alongside the ordinary language students: naval signal corps analysts, Sovietologists from the ultra-secret National Security Agency, recruits from the Navy's Officer Training Corps (OTTC), the U.S. Air Force attaché for the American Embassy in Moscow and field interrogators from the U.S. Marine Corps.

As if their organization did not burn enough spies already, CIA

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educators came on campus to hold a public recruiting session. Explained a staff CIA operative to a group of bearded students: "You have to ask yourself if you are prepared to put yourself in a situation to kill for your country, or be killed."

But that was then. Five years later, the school—like the world—in a different place. The Soviet Union has disintegrated into 15 sovereign countries, and Norwich Russian School has ended the CIA recruiting session. A national sign indicative of the new world order is on the school director's door in place of the U.S. presidential seal, with the logo of the CIA and the USSR on either side, punctuated by the caption: "Together at Last—Now we're Enemies!"

Just as the former Soviet republics are struggling to adjust, the Russian School is flourishing as well. Enrollment is down to 160 students from 300 three years ago. Part of the drop, staff members say, is a result of intelligence agencies slashing their budgets for Russian training. Irena Bekasova, one of the school's teachers, says that in 1993, half of her class of 100 students were Russian. This year, she has only one. Said the director of Kiev: "All those people left off after perestroika did not work."

I crossed the campus costume to see one traditionalist, Robert Rastad, a poker-faced first sergeant in Norwich's 800th program. The 21-year-old from Powell, Wyo., threw himself into Russian in 1989. Rastad wanted to go into intelligence work. But after the breakup of the Soviet Union, he considered dropping his Russian studies altogether because he thought it would no longer enhance his career prospects. "The Cold War was still on when I started Russian, and the army liked my plans," Rastad said soberly. "New things have changed so fast, I don't know if there's anything for me."

The Russian School did not originate as a training camp for spies. Paul Michail Perovskiy, a former dean of the college, says that he and fellow Russian-born academics established the program at Norwich in 1968 to expand Russian language and cultural study in North America. Perovskiy is a story in himself. A cousin of the Soviet revolutionary leader Vladimir Lenin, he left the Soviet Union in 1923, after a blemish from the Bolshevik chief granted his release from a prison in the Russian city of Kazan (he landed there after criticizing Soviet economic policy). Perovskiy married in 1944 (first in 1958 and taught Russian studies at the University of Montreal and at McGill University for 22 years. At 93, he still conducts a seminar at Norwich. "We came here because it was a military academy which had empty buildings that we could use," explained Perovskiy. "I don't know anything about training spies."

But the program's excellent academic reputation soon attracted recruits from the military, many of them doing elementary Russian studies at a defense department school in Monterey, Calif., and wanting an advanced setting for their advanced level courses. That led to the school's first student at the center of international intrigue during the past decade. In 1984 and 1985, Glenn Michael Southerland enrolled at the school to upgrade his Russian skills. Unknown to his classmates, Southerland was a former analyst of spy satellite data for the U.S. Navy who had become a Soviet agent. After the FBI put a tail on him in 1986, Southerland fled to Moscow, where he lived in espionage circumstances three years later.

When FBI agents arrived at Norwich to investigate the Southerland case, one of the students that they interviewed was Paul Mur, a Russian School regular who is descended from the same Russian dynasty that produced cosmonaut Leon Tokoy. A former friend of Southerland's, Mur says

that while he does not agree with what he did, he also feels sorry for him. "He had a role in Italy who apparently rated no less about his Soviet connections," said Mur. "He was misused."

But now few of the school's students have military ties. Most of them are bright scores of wealthy East Coast families, who take the intense course between semesters at the top universities. Stuck together in the delicious trappings of a Vermont valley for a few intense weeks, they immediately begin loose relationships that inevitably lead to loans of sex on the uncovered courtyards in their homelands. In daylight, they discuss traditions, such as working in Moscow for a large American corporation, or writing the defunctive treatise as Chekhov's *The Cherry Orchard*. They also look ahead to the less romantic national security topics of the program.

Growing over a bottle of eye after 12 or 13 hours of study, fourth-year student David Richards, 38, shared his assessment about two classmates whom he suspects are both intelligence officers in the Marine Corps and the FBI. "Sometimes they will know how to say the simplest thing in Russian," Richards says with a laugh. "But then a military logic will come up and they'll spend all a hour word by word in terms. Their vocabulary relating to weaponry is astronomical."

With Russia either trying to destroy or sell off much of its military hardware, why does the U.S. government need any intelligence officers to Norwich? A guest lecture by the former U.S. ambassador to the



Richards: Things have changed so fast. I don't know if there is anything for me

Soviet Union provided the answer. A policy czar in a mangled suit, Jack Mallick served in Moscow from 1987 to 1991. Asked by a student whether there was still a future for intelligence work in that part of the world, Mallick replied: "There is in that country about 20,000 nuclear warheads. It is not for us to know where they are, and that they are being destroyed according to recent treaties, so we need people with training in Russian. We've had inspectors at the gates of each other's nuclear facilities for the past two years for treaty verification, and on both sides, these people are from the intelligence community."

That evening, I ran into David Richards, who graduated at the thought of a continuing stream of spies learning Russian. A doctoral student in Russian literature at Cornell University, Richards views the school's espionage element dimly. "They're not here to gain wisdom," he says with mild disgust. "They're here to fulfill whatever radical or unwise purpose our government has chosen for them." Thus agents, that is what makes Norwich's Russian School, at the heart of liberal New England, no unique.

PAUL KAHRA in Northfield



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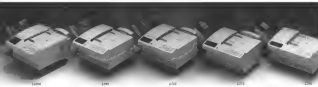
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BOOKS

Lust and laughter

A womanizer loses the one he loves

MEMORIES OF THE FORD ADMINISTRATION
By John Updike
(Random House, 271 pages, \$29)

For sheer technical dexterity and joy in the English language, few writers can match American novelist John Updike. His sentences have the predatory grace of cobras, while his eye for detail, which really amounts to a lust for the sensual, is as keen as any detective's. The 60-year-old, Massachusetts-based author is also idiosyncrasy-prone. His latest novel, *Memories of the Ford Administration*, his 19th, under his 20 other titles to his credit, including collections of poetry, short fiction and critical essays. Like most of these books, *Memories of the Ford Administration* reveals a light, comic touch—a hallmark that has led some critics to call Updike superficial. But Updike is superficial only in the way that Mozart is, in that he

finds it impossible to suppress his own idiosyncrasy. *Memories* has its tragic moments, and its heroes feel their share of suffering, but beneath their unassuming, sometimes playful goes on making its selfish, irrepressible music.

The narrator of *Memories*, Al Clayton, is a typical Updike protagonist, a white, middle-class American male with sex on the brain. His story takes the form of a memoir written to a New England historical association that has asked him for recollections of life under the administration of Gerald Ford, president from 1974 to 1977. Al recalls a time when he taught history at a small New England girls' college, and lived with his wife and three children in a comfortable, comfortable town with books and cats. Al's mistress was a colleague's wife, the divorced Governor.

After their affair starts, he leaves his family to live in a bedchamber apartment, awaiting the day when their divorce case through and he can marry the woman he believes will make,

as he blithely puts it, "the perfect wife." Al's looks yet somehow lovely innocence is summed up in that word "perfect." Falling in love is a chronic condition for such men, and makes them sex-appealing spectators. In most respects, Al is a clear and sunny observer, but when it comes to Governor, he can think of nothing but the great sex they have, boyed, sex is a kind of substitute for relationships in the novel. Al would rather know God describe a woman's body as the most intimate detail than have a conversation with her. Recalling a casual fling with Wendy Wadling, another colleague's wife (he is married to Governor), too, he writes eloquent for several pages about exactly what they do in bed, playfully emphasizing his own discomfort with female sexuality.

The detail, humor and candor of such passages are part of Updike's riveting of the sexual act. For all its apparent sexual freedom, North American society is still patriarchal, more ill-at-ease with intimate physicality than it is usually willing to admit. Updike's novels are, in their way, a battle cry against respectability and sexual awkwardness, although their characters sometimes share these very qualms.

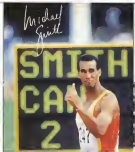
Al's undeliberate to Governor leads to his losing her. His pain is effectively portrayed, particularly in the novel's bitterest last scene, when Al sits alone doing a mountain climb while waiting the Dean's sons. His story is a tragedy, but the book's other protagon-

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BOOKS

one, Jesse Buchanan, the American president who served just before Abraham Lincoln. For years, *Alf* has been struggling to write about Buchanan, a little-understood figure who tried to prevent the United States from slipping into civil war. Seen by history as a spineless compromiser (he wanted to let southern seceders keep their slavery), Buchanan, in *Alf's* opinion, was a humane, gifted man who tried heroically to avert bloodshed.

Buchanan was also America's only bachelor president. Many years before, he had been engaged to a beautiful young woman, Ann Coleman, who died in tragic circumstances. *Alf* becomes obsessed by their tale, and turns his account of Buchanan's life into a historical novel whose chapters alternate with the anecdotes of his own.

Update pinpoints *Alf's* struggle at fiction with a humorous, old-fashioned staidness, though with a moving tale still manages to emerge. It soon becomes clear why *Alf* is so deeply attracted to Buchanan. Both men are compromisers, prone to hesitation rather than swift and brutal action. Both fail to get what they want most. But Buchanan's story is the more tragic one. Its darkness lends a weight to Update's novel that puts contemporary American, with its hectic materialism and selfish pursuit of pleasure, in a rather sobering light.

Nonusers of the *Pord Administration* spend a day's more carefully than if it were forward. That paperwork is one of the pleasures in reading Update, whose fine and reliable



Update: an eye for maximum detail in sentences with a cobweb's predatory grace

mind has a good deal to say about the culture of the 1970s, academic pretension and the sedition of growing old. But when necessary, he can also write with dramatic darkness. When Genevieve confronts her lover with his infidelity, *Alf's* enthusiasm in both parallel and intertext.

Like anyone who wants to eat his cake and have it too, *Alf* is fundamentally unconvincing. A

perfect symbol for an era when hedonists self-greed became increasingly pernicious. Still, as all his faults, *Alf* is quotable. That is the rub. It is difficult to read Update's outstanding novel without experiencing an unsettling complexity in the daily betrayals and compromises of modern life.

JOHN KENNERLY

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Cohen: he still makes the worship of wine, women and song a noble art

MUSIC

Life of a lady's man

Leonard Cohen sings of love and freedom

In the crowded upstairs lounge of an old hotel in Toronto, Leonard Cohen is holding court. A song from his new album, *The Future*, plays in the background. The baritone ache of his voice ebbs and flows through the din of the crowd. Cohen stands at the bar, signing autographs and nodding up affectionately at a cluster of fans. By his side is his companion, Rebecca De Murray, looking demure and a little out of her element. (When Cohen turned up at the door with the actress on his arm, the boisterous crowd went to distraction—"Is that the girl from *The Thin Red Line*?" asked the *Canadian*.) About half his age and perhaps twice as famous, she is the star, the one drawing stolen glances from across the room. But he is the legend, the one people are lining up to meet. One man offers a shoe to be autographed, explaining that he recently wore it at his wedding. Curiously, Cohen accedes. He has seen across the white leather with a ballpoint pen, then with a quill pen from his 1968 novel *Beautiful Losers*: "Magic is about"

gesture was vintage Cohen. And the occasion was a recent launch party for *The Future*, his 11th album and his first recording in four years. In 1986 the Canadian poet-singer revived his career with *I'm Your Man*, an album that was critical acclaim and sold more than a million copies. Since then, a new generation of bands has cited him as a major influence. Singer Jennifer Warnes filed a hit album, *Reasons for Women*, with his songs, and last year various artists contributed to a Cohen tribute album titled *I'm Your Man*.

At 28, the Montreal-born troubadour remains refreshingly hip. Although he has occasionally faded from the scene, he has never really fallen from favour. Strangely immune to the shifting sands of sexual politics, Cohen's lyrics still make the worship of wine, women and song a noble art. He is still the sedate voluptuary, celebrating sex and freedom in the preconscious before an apocalyptic dawn. But on the new album, in a song called *Demoniac*, he also displays a political passion that seems keenly in tune with the times.

Meanwhile, in an era of all-consuming celebrity, Cohen has found a comfortable level of fame. Comparing him to Bob Dylan and Norman Mailer, Canadian novelist Michael Ondaatje says, "All three rely heavily on their ability to be cynical about their own or pop-world, all the time continuing to build it up." Cohen, who once scorned the word "career," now admits to having one. "I have a very manageable career," he said. "It's always been a very modest ambition. But I'm well-paid and I'm happy to be fully employed."

In a recent interview with *Maclean's*, Cohen was drawn to what has become his habitual uniform, a dark suit and black shirt. The anger, who now dwells in time between Los Angeles and Montreal, was in the thick of a 15-country sailing tour to promote his new album (a concert tour planned for next spring). Generous with his words, Cohen seems to treat the interview as a confessional art form. He talked about the slow agony of writing songs and the cherished ritual of performing them. He discussed his love-hate relationship with America, while offering some national solutions to Canada's constitutional dilemma. He also talked of sex, drugs and failed divorce, of his career romance—and of his new album.

With just seven new songs, *The Future* is less ambitious in scale but more adventurous in style than *I'm Your Man*. The basic sound remains the same, with female choirs singing over a capricious-waltz pace that seems deeper and darker than ever. But the music is less regimented. Cohen lets his musicians stray

into the expansive world of rhythm and blues. And he acts more like a musician himself—his final composition on the album, "Tooona Zinaa," is an instrumental. "You get to that place," he said, "where you're willing to stretch out, to give things a shot."

Perhaps his greatest strength is creating a gently nihilistic atmosphere of the living blues in standard. Always Cohen looks awkward without voice like a drunk in a karaoke bar. The song goes back to growing up in Montreal. "It was very popular with my mother," he recalled. "And I used to play it on clement in dance bands." While recording, Always Cohen paid the musician who he resembled in Neil Young, called the Red Head, reminding of trout, cranberry juice, Spide and tooth. "I prepared many pictures," he said, "and everyone was having such a good time they refused to stop playing. I left down in the recording booth—I was that happy."

With the exception of the title track's doomy doomism, on *The Future* Cohen sounds less cynical than before, and almost unchanged by love and sex. With a dedication quoting the biblical story of Rebecca, the album contains both a marriage proposal, in *Waiting for the Myriad*, and a note to end sex, in *Light on the River*. And in *Chasing Time*, a bawdy country tune about drinking, dancing and stopping, Cohen sings of "my very sweet companion" whom "raising hell the world against her days."

For singers who about sex as a tragedy, Cohen, who seems to treat it as a sacrament. The word "naked" appears in four songs on the album. "I don't think a man ever gets over that first night of the naked woman," he said. "I think that's the most wonderful thing, that's the turning and the dew on the skin. And I think that's the major content of every man's migration. All the red adventures in pornography and love and sex are just steps in the path towards that holy vision."

But the two most arresting tracks on the new album are political visions. *The Future*, a descent into fascist horror, and *Democracy*, an anthem of political optimism. They are the flip side of each other, and Cohen. "I wrote these two songs at the same time, in the Berlin Wall coming down." The future, a song that sharpens the sadistic tone of *First Light* (Monks) (1988), involves a black-headed man for power. "Give me a crack and a nail and take the only one that's left and stick it up the hole," your cultural/Gen. Use back the Berlin Wall give me the only one that's left. I've seen the future, brother, it's a wonder."

By contrast, *Democracy* could almost serve as a musical covenant. For Bob Dylan's couple came. Set to the marching beat of a military march drum, it's a sweeping, awe-inspiring ode of a song that rages from "the future of the future" to "the future of the future" to "the future of the future," with the bass line, "Democracy is coming to the U.S.A." It's here they got the

measured the machinery for change/and it's here they got the spiritual thrust."

When Cohen talks about democracy, it is with a cynicism that transcends politics. "I think we're on the edge of this great movement," he said. "Democracy is the great religion of the West. It's a faith. And it represents an appetite that has been answered in the heart, an appetite for mass available coverage of anyone who you can breathe your name on to speak." Coming from an artist who spends a lot of time in smog-stricken Los Angeles, the metaphor seems less than arbitrary. "Los Angeles is the postapocalyptic landscape, both geologically and socially," added Cohen. "There you find a decay of the Western psyche, of that heresy of the soul."

Despite *Democracy's* fervent tone, Cohen still maintains a Canadian distance. He says that in referring to America in the lyrics, he was careful to say "they," not "we." And he

over somewhere else. We could purchase a set of unadorned skulls in the Caribbean. Or we could purchase throughout the cosmos and establish a second Canada in which we communicate through fax machines."

In a more serious vein, Cohen expresses a deep affection for Montreal, where he still owns the house in Westmount in which he grew up. His father, Nathan Cohen, who owned a clothing business, died when Leonard was 14. Leonard and his sister, Rachel, were raised by his mother, Masha Klatsky Cohen, a nurse from a Russian family, who died in 1978.

Cohen published his first book of poetry, *Let Us Compare Mysteries* (1993), while still an undergraduate at McGill University. And he won international acclaim for his second, *The Spice-Box of Earth* (1997). Moving to the Greek island of Hydra, he wrote another collection, the controversial *Poems for Winter* (1994), and two novels, *The Future* and *Gen*.



Cohen (left), *De Monnoy* he has faded from the scene, but never fallen from fashion

spells out his ambivalence with the line, "I love the country but I can't stand the scene." Said Cohen: "We're all America-mixers, Canadians. We're brought up to watch America's war games are brought up to watch men." Meanwhile, Cohen still keeps up with the Canadian scene. He says that he tried to follow the referendum debate but found it bewildering and arduous. Reviewing the flag debate would be a better alternative, he playfully suggests. "I think there should be four flags, one for every season: a very red maple leaf for spring, red of yellowish green, a hot green leaf for summer, a red one for fall, and just a white outline of a leaf for winter." He added, "Finally rituals could be built around changing the flag."

As for Quebec, Cohen said that he loves separation, "but geographically—d all the previous were separated by water, tension would dissipate." He added, "I'm an experimental side to it. We are free from the blood myth, the red myth, so we could start

(1982) and *Songs/Live* (1986). Then he returned to North America to pursue music, and was discovered by legendary Columbia Records executive John Hammond, who had also recruited Bob Dylan. The first album, *The Songs of Leonard Cohen*, which included such gems as *Suzanne* and *Sisters of Mercy*, was a hit. And although he continued to publish poetry and fiction, music took precedence.

Now, he says that he rarely reads poetry. "After a certain point," he recalled, "I found it very difficult to expose myself to these writings, the myriad of private dreams and dreams—I just couldn't accommodate all this data of the heart." Asked if he writes poetry himself any more, he says, "I still blather poems, and some of the lines don't come to the end of the page. But I always thought that poetry was a vessel rather than an intention." Cohen, who has spent the past few years struggling to compose half a dozen songs, describes writing as an ordeal. "I have always

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and the sense of being home," he said. "I never experienced the warmth of a home that other people have spoken about—the ground doesn't move." Instead, he relies on discipline. "You shelter yourself of the self," he explained, "until you get down to a line, a word, that you feel that you can wrap your voice around without choice."

For Cohen, the final year of composing an album becomes all-consuming. "There's nothing else going on," he said, "and you can see your life breaking down. Layers of friendship fall away, and you know that you're in it when you're not doing anything else, but trying to find the signpost for 'usage.' It doesn't exist. Some people say it's a door hinge, but that's not right."

Cohen has tried shortcuts through what he calls "the sedentary toll" of his profession, but with little success. "I try the various antidepressants on the market," he said, "and they seem never to work." He has, meanwhile, scored all sorts of adventures, substances. "I spent many years in the meditation hall establishing some kind of balance in what is left of my soul, and I don't like to threaten that," Cohen said. "Occasionally, out of sheer compassion for the company, I will take a puff of a joint—and realize it has a thrower for a long time. Maybe, like sex, it's the sport of the young."

Still, Cohen is involved with the proverbial younger woman. He is reluctant to talk about De Monay, 31, except to say, "She's a very old friend of mine, and much more. We have known each other for many years. I have an exclusive, and highly conventional relationship." He added that he would like to love with her, but work has kept them apart. Cohen now shares a house with his daughter, Levina, 18, who wears nightgowns answering calls on a distance phone line. His son, Adam, 20, he added, is a student at Syracuse University. "He could be the great McGuffin," Cohen mother, who he never married, in Suzanne Elrod, now living in Paris. As Cohen faces his own future, he says he "does not need the idea of getting old." He thinks it's one of the most compassionate ways of saying goodbye to the years comes with age, he said. "I think it's perfect. It's an acceptable way to go off center stage, and everything that happens to you seems so appropriate."

But there is a sadness to his sense of reinvention. Recalling that he once wanted to be a forest ranger, he said that growing up, he was emboldened. "I was like, I was an overlord. I'm not even a poet. I'm a songwriter." Eventually, he added, "you realize you're not going to be doing anything else. You're not going to be leading the social movement. You're not going to be the light of your generation. You're not going to be any of the things you think that might be. You're this guy sitting in front of the table at the good parts of the day, and crawling around on the carpet in the bad parts. That's what you're doing. You're being successful for the people market." Then, he added, with the wisdom of a seasoned composer, "Maybe you have a dream that they live for a while."

BRILLIAN D. JOHNSON



Oliver (left), Cocks, Jackson, Keegan: A Mountain adjusts to a native community

TELEVISION

Northern flights

Southerners seek redemption on the frontier

NORTH OF 60
(CBC, Thursdays, 8 p.m.)

A remote nomadic settlement in the Northwest Territories, a burned-out Mountie flees his home in the South. And a local population, almost all of it native, tries to survive. These are the rather grainy, basic coordinates of *North of 60*, the new CBC TV program that starts on Dec. 3. On the evidence of the first three hours, the series is as evocative as a northern winter. The show is set in Lynx River, a community of 150 attempting to beat back the elements. As conceived by veteran producers Wayne Grady and Barbara Sawatzky, who helped create *N.C.E.*, the town is practically horror-proof. Even more plain is the main character, Gpl Eric Oliver (Eric Oliver), who left his old life in partner was killed during a failed undercover drug operation in Vancouver. Eric's gold-mining, another southerner hoping to clear his head in the North, ended up losing his wife. The question for the CBC is, will viewers lose patience with such unrelenting gloom?

Hardened by years of stalking dealers, Eric overreacts to the manifestations of Lynx River residents—drunkards, brawling wanderers and hoodlums. This icy territory quickly creates his new Mountie partner, Michelle (Tina Keeper), and her brother, Peter (Tom

Jackson), chief of the local Dene band. Eric also manages to offend the town's owner, another exile from the South named Sarah (Tanya Cocks), even though she has helped him recover from a badly broken back (serious breakdown). He writes up one evening literally immobilized by depression, but Sarah gets him out of bed before noon—by buying him.

The contrast between the first three hours becomes freewheeling. It is a relief, when, in the third episode, Gpl. Al (Stephen Strimp) comes to town to propose to Sarah, dropping flower petals from his plane and serenading her. But the producers' southern bias, of course, is obvious. In the first three hours, the show that the town is a relief, when, in the third episode, Gpl. Al (Stephen Strimp) comes to town to propose to Sarah, dropping flower petals from his plane and serenading her. But the producers' southern bias, of course, is obvious.

Still, there are some striking moments—and some strong performers. Keegan is particularly effective as Michelle, a resident single mother. But no match larger on the confessional line, who is a hard to like—and often hard to believe. The script, as well, sometimes lacks credibility. In the first episode, when Tina Jans is an incoherent young woman named Tanya, her rage is understandable. But then he takes on all the blame as a society-folly case at a community meeting. "I brought a lot of problems up here with me," he says, "and I had no right taking them out on Tanya or anyone else." As higher latitudes, Dec. 60 seems to suggest, even Mounties become light-headed.

PATRICIA KELCEY

The hidden terror

A strong drama outlines the abuse of orphans

THE BOYS OF ST. VINCENT
(CBC Dec. 6 and 7, 8 p.m.)

The sexual abuse of children is a subject ripe for exploitation. And when the abuses are gay brothers of the Roman Catholic Church, the sex is particularly explosive. But *The Boys of St. Vincent*, a four-hour fictional miniseries that closely parallels the infamous events at New Bedford's Mount Carmel orphanage, treats the topic with a sensitivity and subtlety that is rare in the genre. Told mainly from the viewpoint of the children, it sensitively depicts the physical and emotional havoc caused by their abusers and by the other guardians who failed them. And it is a complex

two reform schools. And in a recently published book called *Lead Us Not into Temptation*, American journalist Joan Berry cites statistics of as many as 2,000 sexual offenders within the U.S. church. For his part, Smith says that abuse "is an alarmingly large part of our past. And it is tremendously important to tell that story."

The first, two-hour installment of the series is especially for most emotionally powerful, depicting the exposure—and subsequent coverage—of the secret behind the walls of the New Bedford orphanage. The quiet, dark-haired Kern (Johnny Moran) is often called into the story of Brother Larry (Henry Cavill) at night. During one of those visits, Kern

officials, some politicians, businessmen and police all converge to guard the good cause of the church—and during the boys' day were supposed to protect. Two of the offending brothers leave: St. Vincent, and the investigation ends.

Fifteen years later, the story resumes. A royal commission holds an inquiry, several of the former residents try to assert the strength to testify in public and Larry, now married with two sons, is brought to trial. Henry Cavill gives a blistering performance as Larry, a man struggling so hard to maintain control that his face seems like a stone set in a boiling pot. His character's struggle with a psychiatrist succeed in making Larry almost unrecognizable, and certainly none of the two-dimensional character. Yet the intelligent script never loses sight of Larry's weakness, showing him searching from self-pity to self-knowledge and back to denial. "I've been a sorry old life, first to these little islands, and now to you," he tells his wife lightly.

Besides Cavill, the boys themselves, with their open faces, clean-shaven hair and glad smiles, are heartbreakingly convincing. Moran delivers a subtle performance as Kern, and Kevin Lock in orphan Steve Leamy, in an unobtrusive mixture of cunning, bewilderment and innocence. The series also features some outstanding canon, including one by Derek O'Brien, a former Mount Carmel nun, as the priestess who arrests Larry. O'Brien's appearance strikes a note of poetic justice. And *The Boys of St. Vincent*, with its unpalatable, but honest, but not redemptive power.

DOANE TURNER



Grady (left), Moran (second from right), emotional horror: a shocking exposure

portrayal of one man whose inner rage and business find a terrible outlet. Still, *The Boys of St. Vincent* is strong and the scenes of sexual abuse, while not explicit, are almost unbearable to watch. In an interview last week, director and co-writer John M. Smith said that the fact that the film was going to be extremely disturbing. That's because it's extremely disturbing (Smith Mipped).

The director's toughness is undeniable. In April, Douglas Repp, the sixth Irish Christian Brother involved in the Mount Carmel scandal, was charged with sexual offenses, was sentenced to five years in jail. In Ontario, several Christian Brothers are currently on trial, the result of more than 200 sexual and sexual abuse charges against 25 current and former members of the lay order who had worked at

begin to come home, whispering "Monica loves you, child." The shock of those words is like a nuclear blast, revealing the perversity of the town's owner. When Kern practices the man's feelings, Larry looks him viciously with his belt.

The lasting arts in movies is a chain of events that eventually leads to a police investigation. Detective Newberry (Glen Dumas) comes in an updating catalog of outrages as the boys recount their experiences. Those statements are punctuated by flashbacks that imply those without actually depicting it co-scientist. As the policeman gets closer to making arrests, other forces erupt that the scandal does not become public in a few deftly constructed scenes, the film shows how church

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The English Patient*, Ondaatje (7)
- 2 *Merly Hordless*, Adams (2)
- 3 *Guller & Salmon*, Shumway (5)
- 4 *Golden Child*, King
- 5 *Sabine's Notebook*, Simons (6)
- 6 *The Tale of the Body Thief*, Lee (3)
- 7 *Good Bones*, Adams (4)
- 8 *Dances of the Gods*, Giddens
- 9 *Denning Face*, Francis (7)
- 10 *The Children of Men*, Jeter (5)

NONFICTION

- 1 *See, Madeline* (7)
- 2 *Whispering*, McLean (3)
- 3 *Every Living Thing*, Heron (5)
- 4 *The Chicago*, Goss (3)
- 5 *The Mother Zone*, Jackson (8)
- 6 *Ministry of the Future*, Jans (6)
- 7 *Nobody's Heroes*, Blum (14)
- 8 *The Tale of the Body Thief*, Lee (3)
- 9 *A Woman's Place*, McLaughlin (7)
- 10 *Exposure* of the, Goss

(1) Fiction best seller

Compiled by Bruce Robinson



Little Finland, little Canada

BY ALLAN POTTINGER

Since we have just seen our last Grey Cup, if moving to San Antonio or Sacramento next year, it is time to consider. Our semi-American Prime Minister is now being evaluated by our semi-American Canadian. Football League, which looks compelled to control and centralize by moving south of the border, where people would be understood a range of issues in the soap.

The focus is perfectly into the Federation of Canada, a major step on the world horizon where Great Domestic Product, next year will be equally significant to Canada's future. Thanks to free trade, the greatest load of goods ever to spring from the forehead of Brian Mulroney, even of Ontario's manufacturing base has moved to Memphis, Mobile and Miami.

It is not only the Scandinavians who grip up the economy of Florida when the clubmen set in. The end of the country is slowly (and slowly) drifting south, led by the evidence of a government that doesn't understand.

Canada has always been a Finland, a small nation that has had the malpractice to be buying the horror of itself used to be called Soviet Union. Helsinki knew came well, as did Moscow, that the Russians could overthrow the Russian government at any moment by trade sanctions. However, in fact, determined the socialist contrast of the Canadian government by the constant threat of instant retaliation—closing the border, banning all Finland exports, imposing impossible tariffs. Washington knows, and Ottawa knows, the same old story here.

Bill Clinton, if he wanted, who he does not, on Jan. 21, the day after his inauguration, could destroy the entire history of Canada by instantly cancelling the Arms Pact, which keeps what is left of Ottawa alive by giving it special protection to assemble Japanese cars for shipment to the United States. The Americans know that they hold us by the short and neck. They proved it, not for the first time, when the defuncting John Diefenbaker defuncted over the Cuban missile crisis, attempting to prove his machismo by delivering for days—when, among all the other Western allies—his support for



the Washington showdown, imperative that the Washington had to remove the weapons.

Thanks to two things. One was the emotional content of Bobby Kennedy, then the U.S. attorney general, visiting Britain's Harold Wilson, that "in times of crisis Canada will give you all sort of help." The second was that the vengeful Kennedy's issued to Lester Pearson and his Liberals, as the historians have proven, their sharply losing policies and open aggression who helped the Gots to overthrow the Galters.

The semi-American who is our President doesn't understand the life of Finland, and doesn't understand why he is looked for the Dempsey. Much of it has to do with Washington—and the fact that the game of Joe Kiri and Royal Copeland and Anna Shaban is based for Ottawa, Nashville and probably Prague. If it plays in Paris, it isn't going to survive in Russia.

Jackie Parker grew up not too far from where Bill Clinton married his dove, and is now still an executive in Education. His bloodstream having been adapted to the February lessons, with memories of Rolfe Miles and Johnnie Wright still in the brain waves of football freaks who are so spawned that they can recall where their heroes actually stayed with one club throughout their careers.

Today, the memories—hello there, Mr. Prime Minister—sleep their latest law lessons on the corner pavement, the astronomically talented Matt Daughn now displaying his model pipe with his fourth GIL issue, having fitted from Edmonton to Vancouver to Toronto to Winnipeg. Next stop: Chertown, Mobile or Little Rock—all probably remembered the Canadian football tradition that accompanied Russ Jackson and Roman Stewart and, gold save the mark, Don Gearty.

But the Club entered the Americans to display their muscle, and today they don't even have to broadcast their Charles. After losing We acquire quickly, lacking need in our own faces. The object semi-Americans in the Third column have just held, on the \$400-million detour of the Canadian consumer, allowing the prescription drug monopolists of this country to freeze out further the manufacture of generic drugs who can get the stuff into the drugstore much cheaper.

With a headline that defies all imagination, the game in Ottawa have managed a system that allows many American magazines into the country—these guys competing against Canadian magazines that must pay the same—without paying the GAT. Aside from being the only government in the civilized world that puts a tax on reading, this takes out aggression. Our boys have done it.

Finger Jackie Parker and Indian Jack Jacobs the biggest political cartoonists and Sam Eichenberry and Angelo Mecca and Willie Fleming and Frank Trappico, who write Americans who were committed to Canada and the Canadian fancy game with the wide field and the extra player. Now, the Canadian game is committed to the exciting concept of Sacramento and San Antonio.

It fits with the general drift of the country, leaving the government. Our answers are dominated by American school-ten-up pink. The newspapers are dominated by the excitement of People magazine and the vicinity of the supermarket. Sabbath. Now, we're going to have Canada's football tailored to the needs of Texas and, undoubtedly, Arkansas.

It fits in, all the way, with Ottawa, ruled by a Prime Minister who is wondrous, America.

He's only 9. And yet he's thrown more touchdowns than Doug Flutie, struck out more batters than Tom Henke, birdied more holes than Jack Nicklaus, scored more goals than Wayne Gretzky, driven more laps than Scott Goodyear, and flown more missions than Luke Skywalker. He's rescued a dozen princesses, defended every planet from aliens, and landed choppers in hostile territory with full artillery blazing.

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